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## Near East/South Asia Report

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31 January 1985

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

DETAILS GIVEN ON OVERSEAS LOANS BY ARAB BANKS

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 64, Oct 84 pp 66-69

[Article: Arab Banks and the Crisis: Arab Banks Have Entered the Market Late, and Their International Liabilities Are Limited"]

[Text] Where do the Arab banks active on the international scene stand with respect to the debt crisis, what is their share in this crisis, and how have their policies with respect to the volume and geographic distribution of their loans developed, vis-a-vis international developments and disclosure of risks?

Along with this article, AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL offers a detailed table of the overall growth in Arab loan activity over the past 6 years and the first part of this year, showing in particular the geographic distribution of risks for these loans. From this table the following basic trends are clear.

1. The Arab countries were relative late-comers to the international loan field, since the amounts circulating in the Euromarket were relatively limited until 1980. In 1981 international Arab loans began to skyrocket, suddenly rising to \$US 9.102 billion that year as opposed to \$3.583 billion the previous year, but dropping again dramatically during 1983 and 1984. The fluctuation in foreign loan activity by Arab banks is due to several factors, the main one being that in spite of the huge influx of financial surpluses beginning in 1984, the Arab banking system is not quite ready to loan these surpluses, either directly or through joint loan operations. Furthermore, domestic development needs in the Gulf and elsewhere initially allowed most of these funds to be directed to the local market or towards financing foreign trade operations. The main features of this phase were, first of all, the absence of any Arab banks of international size (except for some consortium banks such as UBAF [Union de Banques Arabes et Francaises], the European Arab Bank, BAI, and others) and, secondly, the fact that up to that time local concerns had controlled the major commercial banks in the Gulf states and elsewhere. This tendency will never really change unless larger banking organizations, such as the Arab Banking Corporation and the Gulf International Bank, are established, and unless the larger national banks begin looking for international markets--two trends which actually began to emerge during the late seventies and early eighties and which explain the leap in foreign loan activity beginning in 1981.

2. The table also shows that Arab bank loans abroad continued to grow regardless of rising or falling surpluses. For example, in spite of the drop in oil revenues during 1982, international loan activity remained strong. Any falling-off was most likely due to market conditions and increased risks, and not to the oil states' diminishing revenues. This means that Arab banks have become an independent financial force in their own right.

3. Nevertheless, a sharp drop (28.7 percent) can be observed in the volume of loans by Arab banks in 1983 as opposed to 1982, which was a record year. Furthermore, the downward trend continued throughout the first quarter of 1984, since total foreign loans by Arab banks amounted to about \$1.175 billion, as opposed to about \$1.370 billion during the same period of 1983, a 14.3 percent drop. However, the drop in international Arab loans is in keeping with the decline in international loan activity in general. In fact, it can be said that Arab banking activity did not fall off as much as world banking activity did, because of the Arab banks' strong reliance on opportunities available within the Arab market, which accounted for about 54 percent of total foreign loans during the first quarter of 1984.

4. The Arab banks also obviously tend to concentrate most of their loans in the Arab world itself. The Arab market's share of these banks' total loans grew from 25.5 percent of the total in 1980 to 33.1 percent in 1981, 43.7 percent in 1982, and 51.3 percent in 1983. This growth is due to natural factors, one of which is that these banks look upon some of the Arab countries as good clients, inasmuch as the political and commercial risks are much less in those countries compared to other areas. Furthermore, Arab economic expansion during the late seventies and early eighties increased the loan capacity of the Arab market, and the general economic slowdown since late 1981 has increased the demand for bank loans because of the general drop in fluidity.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the economic slowdown, which became more severe in 1983 and 1984, was reflected in a relative drop in the volume of joint loans granted on the Arab market during the second half of 1983 and early 1984.

5. It can be observed that the Western European countries' share of Arab foreign loans generally held steady at about 22 percent of the total, except for 1982, when it fell to 15.3 percent as a result of a sudden increase in loans to the Arab market and in Asian countries. The striking thing here is the rapid increase in Arab loans in Asia; that region's share of loans jumped to 17.5 percent in 1980, as opposed to only 7.7 percent the year before, and then to 21.3 percent in 1983. The concentration on Asian countries has obviously continued, as indicated by the significant rise in these countries' share since mid 1983: 25.7 percent during the third quarter of 1983, 35.5 percent during the fourth quarter of 1983, and 27.4 percent during the first quarter of 1984.

6. The table of geographic distribution of Arab foreign loans shows that the Latin American countries' share fell sharply in 1983, dropping to less than 1 percent as opposed to 18.1 percent in 1982 and 21.4 percent during 1981.

In fact, these countries' share dropped to zero percent during the first quarter of 1984. This development reflects the Arab banks' violent reaction to the disclosure of Mexico's serious problems in 1982, and the subsequent aggravation of the debt crisis in late 1983 and early 1984. In any case, it is obvious that the volume of Arab liabilities in Latin America is relatively limited. In spite of the wave of enthusiasm during 1981 and 1982, the amounts loaned do not constitute a major burden on Arab banks, especially considering the strength of these banks' capital bases and their private funds compared to these loans to Latin America and the total foreign loans in general. From this standpoint, Arab banks appear to be in a relatively good position compared to American banks or some of the European, Japanese and other banks. Even assuming the advent of some crisis which might prevent some of the larger debtor nations from paying off the loans, the Arab banks could still write off dubious loans without being significantly affected as a group, although naturally this should not occur. Even in case the potentials of individual banks are undermined, the Arab banks in general would be only indirectly affected by any international financial shock, more as a natural result of the general crisis than as the necessary result of difficulty in calling in all or part of the foreign loans. In simpler terms, the real danger to Arab financial interests in such a case would probably be to Arab deposits and investments and the potentials for stimulating them, and not necessarily to foreign loans.

Table 1. Geographic Distribution of Foreign Loans by Arab Banks  
In US\$ Millions

Section 1

Year (End of Period)	Arab Countries		Western Europe		Russia, Eastern Bloc	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
1978	1679.15	72.4	147.01	6.3	166.15	7.2
1979	1378.75	55.4	564.73	22.7	168.33	6.8
1980	914.55	25.5	775.44	21.6	333.35	9.3
1981	3009.18	33.1	1957.23	21.5	684.76	7.5
1982	4283.56	43.7	1496.24	15.3	362.73	3.7
1983	3583.32	51.3	1527.20	21.9	128.14	1.8
1983 1st Qutr	853.87	62.3	288.74	21.1	13.50	1.0
2nd Qutr	1420.72	51.9	718.20	26.2	64.64	2.4
3rd Qutr	614.58	44.8	316.98	23.1	50.00	3.6
4th Qutr	694.29	46.1	203.28	13.5	-	-
1984 1st Qutr	635.36	54.1	168.03	14.3	50.00	4.3

Section 2

Year (End of Period)	Cent., So. America		Asia		Africa	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
1978	200.02	8.6	94.86	4.1	-	-
1979	186.81	7.5	192.29	7.7	-	-
1980	762.36	21.3	627.33	17.5	169.99	4.7
1981	1943.54	21.4	1236.54	13.6	236.05	2.6
1982	1772.54	18.1	1625.59	16.6	122.69	1.3
1983	62.49	0.9	1486.21	21.3	65.12	0.9
1983 1st Qutr	40.00	0.3	177.06	12.9	-	-
2nd Qutr	15.00	0.5	421.67	15.4	65.12	2.4
3rd Qutr	21.67	1.6	352.89	25.7	-	-
4th Qutr	21.82	1.5	534.59	35.5	-	-
1984 1st Qutr	-	-	321.75	27.4	-	-

Section 3

Year (End of Period)	Other Countries		TOTAL	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
1978	33.33	1.4	320.52	100.0
1979	-	-	2490.91	100.0
1980	-	-	3583.02	100.0
1981	35.00	0.4	9102.39	100.0
1982	135.00	1.4	9798.35	100.0
1983	132.74	1.9	6985.42	100.0
1983 1st Qutr	33.33	2.4	1370.56	100.0
2nd Qutr	30.77	1.1	2736.12	100.0
3rd Qutr	15.00	1.1	1371.12	100.0
4th Qutr	53.64	3.6	1507.62	100.0
1984 1st Qutr	-	-	1175.14	100.0

Table 2. Foreign Loans by the Top Nine Arab Banks, During the First Quarter of 1984

Bank	Loans (in US\$ Millions)			
	January	February	March	Total
Gulf International Bank	114.29	9.73	39.97	164.
Riyadh Bank	-	-	154.76	154.76
National Commercial Bank (Saudi Arabia)	-	-	138.21	138.21
Arab Banking Corporation	2.44	-	106.45	108.89
Kuwaiti Trade, Contracting and Foreign Investment Co.	42.77	-	56.07	98.84
National Bank of Kuwait	-	-	50.00	50.00
UBAF Group	-	-	42.74	42.74
Bank of Bahrain and Kuwait	22.02	-	16.55	37.57
al-Bank al-Saudi al-Fransi	20.00	-	18.40	38.40
Bank of Kuwait and Asia	16.05	-	20.00	36.05
Total First Quarter Loans by Arab Banks and Organizations for 1984	289.35	44.74	84.105	1175.14
Total Loans by Arab Banks and Organizations, First Quarter 1983	89.02	524.88	756.60	1370.56

(Source: MEES)

Table 3. Arab Banks In London

Bank	Established	Head Office
RECOGNIZED BANKS		
Rafidayn Bank	1952	Iraq
United Bank of Kuwait	1966	Britain
Arab Bank Limited	1972	Jordan
UBAF Bank Limited	1972	Britain
Saudi World Bank	1975	Britain
European Arab Bank	1976	Britain
Qatar National Bank	1976	Qatar
Abu Dhabi National Bank	1977	Abu Dhabi
Arab Union Bank	1977	Britain
Gulf International Bank	1978	Bahrain
BRANCHES LICENSED TO ACCEPT DEPOSITS		
Bank of Credit and Commerce International	1971	Luxembourg
Arab Investment Bank	1974	Britain
Bank of Oman	1978	Dubai
National Bank of Kuwait	1980	Kuwait
Oriental Credit	1980	Britain
Saudi Bank	1981	France
Arab Banking Corporation	1981	Bahrain
Beirut Riyadh Bank	1981	Lebanon
Byblos Bank	1981	Lebanon
Gulf Guaranty Trust	1981	Britain
Middle East Bank	1981	Dubai
Arab Asian Bank CE	1981	Bahrain
National Bank of Egypt	1982	Egypt
Gray-Daus (BAII)	1983	Britain
Barclays International	1983	Britain
Banque Du Liban et D'Outre Mer	1982	Lebanon
CORRESPONDENT OFFICES		
Litex Bank	1970	Lebanon
Gulf Bank	1973	Kuwait
Khalij Commercial Bank	1976	Abu Dhabi
Banque de la Mediterranee	1978	Lebanon
National Commercial Bank	1978	Saudi Arabia
Jammal Trust Bank	1978	Lebanon
International Trade and Investment Bank	1978	Luxembourg
Arab African International Bank	1978	Cairo
Yemeni Bank for Reconstruction and Development	1979	North Yemen
Byblos Arab Finance Bank	1979	Belgium
Arab Latin American Bank	1980	Bahrain
Banque Arabe et Internationale d'Investissement (BAII)	1982	France
Bank of Beirut and the Arab Countries	1983	Lebanon
Investcorp	1983	Bahrain
Bank of Credit and Commerce International	1982	Lebanon
Gulf United Bank	1983	Bahrain
Saudi American Bank	1984	Saudi Arabia

Table 4. Arab Banks in New York

Bank	Representation	Opened	Head Office	Number of Employees
American Arab UBAF Bank	commercial bank	1976	New York	135
Bank of Credit and Commerce International	agent's office	1978	Luxembourg	unknown
Arab African International Bank	power of attorney	1979	Cairo	35
Gulf International Bank	affiliated branch	1980	Manamah	51
Saudi World Bank	"	1981	London	26
Abu Dhabi International Bank	"	1981	Curacao	unknown
Middle East Bank	"	1981	Dubai	20
Trans-Arabian Investment Bank	agent's office	1981	Manamah	4
Arab Bank Limited	affiliated branch	1982	'Amman	50
The Gulf Bank	power of attorney	1982	Kuwait	20
Saudi European Bank	agent's office	1982	Paris	6
Dubai Bank	affiliated branch	1982	Dubai	24
Arab Banking Corporation	"	1982	Manamah	45
Doha Bank	"	1983	al-Dawhah	11
National Commercial Bank	"	1983	Jiddah	unknown
Bank of Oman	agent's office	1983	Dubai	unknown
Banque Audi	commercial bank	1983	Beirut	unknown
United Bank of Kuwait	affiliated branch	1983	London	10
The Saudi Bank	agent's office	1983	Paris	unknown
Banque Arabe et Internationale	branch being established			
d'Investissement (BAII)	"			
Islamic Bank	agent's office being established			
National Bank of Kuwait	branch being established			
Kuwait Real Estate and Investment Group	correspondent bank			
Arab Bank for African Development	branch being established			
Petra Bank International				

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

RECENT ACTIONS ON JOINT BANKING SCENE REPORTED

Operational Survey Conducted

Beirut AL-IQTISAD AL AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 65, Nov 84 p 21

[Article: "An Outsider's Look At the United Saudi Lebanese Bank"]

[Text] In a move considered unprecedented in Lebanon, the United Saudi Lebanese Bank has placed itself under the microscope in order to see itself as an outsider would.

The bank management has commissioned Financial Expert Dr Freddie Bazz to do a study on the bank's growth from 1981 to 1984 in light of the revenue balance sheets for that period.

The bank discussed this study with its author at a recent seminar attended by senior head office and branch employees. The subject was exhaustively discussed during 2 days of discussions.

This method of operations evaluation is considered a model one, and reflects self-confidence and confidence in the present situation. Without a doubt, economic organizations need this kind of second-hand review based on scientific studies, which will help them carry on along well-considered, established lines.

What did the study cover? It contained an analysis of the bank's budget and financial set-up, its profit and loss accounts and its bank investments and its financial position. The study concluded with some recommendations for regulating and increasing the bank's profits.

The study revealed that over a period of 3 years the total budget increased fourteen-fold, from 44.15 million Lebanese pounds to 633.94 million pounds. This growth is significant because it occurred in spite of Lebanon's disturbed security conditions, industrial stagnation, general fiscal deficit, and the disturbances in international money markets.

The bank's dynamic growth shows in the increased volume of credit facilities, which rose from 21.32 million pounds in 1981 to 242.93 million pounds in 1983. The 1983 growth rate was 114 percent, compared to 1982's results.

Deposits rose from 14.9 million pounds in 1981 to 274.9 million pounds in 1983, a 221 percent increase compared to 1982. As of 31 May 1984, deposits amounted to about 341 million pounds.

As for profits, the bank's net profits rose from 1.02 million pounds in 1981 to 14.16 million pounds in 1983, as a result of the fact that the bank's investment income (60 percent in 1983) grew faster than its investment burden (48 percent in 1983).

The study suggested some measures needed to regulate and increase profits, which include maintaining the greatest possible positive differential between average interest rates for debtors and creditors; the most recent differential registered for 1983 (2.1 percent) should be steadily raised over the next few years, especially since the bank management has no control over interest rates.

#### Saudis Purchase Kuwaiti Shares

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 65, Nov 84 p 21

[Article: "A Saudi Group Purchases Kuwaiti-Owned Shares"]

[Text] A Saudi group has bought most of the Lebanese Arab Bank shares in Beirut, Paris and London which had been owned by a Kuwaiti group, and will most likely engage in more such activity in other countries.

The Saudi group authorized its legal advisor, Attorney Marun Thabit, to represent it on the Lebanese Arab Bank's boards of directors in Paris and Beirut, and on the London board of the Bank of London and the Arab World.

The capital of the Paris branch of the Lebanese Arab Bank has been increased to 30 million French francs.

Jean Tarbet is known to have been behind the establishment of this bank, and is chairman of its board.

The three bank boards in Paris, London and Beirut have met to draw up work plans for the next few years.

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CSO: 4404/135

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

ISRAEL PLANS TO TRANSFER ANSAR CAMP DETAINEES

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 402, 3 Nov 84 p 29

[Article by 'Imad Jawdiyah: "Israel To Transfer Ansar Detainees to the Occupied Territories"]

[Text] Although the "Ansar" camp is the most conspicuous, and the most crowded, of Israel's detention camps, there are other camps (as Karim Muruwah pointed out in his study of the Lebanese national resistance) inside Israel and outside it which are unknown, and there are many covert torture chambers of undetermined location. In addition, there are mass graves for the victims of the massacres perpetrated by Israel and its agents, and neither these graves nor their criminal traces can be concealed, despite Israel's attempts to camouflage them.

However, the Ansar camp remains a glaring example of Israeli terrorism, and a glorious example of resistance to this terrorism. Being sent to this camp is the final step in the lengthy detention procedure, since going to Ansar is preceded by a difficult torture chamber stage, where the Zionist fascists specialize in physically and mentally destroying the patriotic victims they are detaining, transforming them into shattered remnants of themselves who are then sent on to the Ansar camp. In light of the experience they have just gone through, and compared to the torture centers which preceded it and will follow it, this camp seems more like a refuge to them, in spite of the various forms of intimidation practiced against them there.

Last week, the International Red Cross Committee in Beirut submitted to Lebanese officials a report on conditions in the Ansar camp, which indicated that the camp holds 920 prisoners, mostly Lebanese Shi'ites, in addition to a small number of Palestinians and a few detainees of other nationalities.

The report made it clear that the committee delegates who visited the camp were unable to visit the other camps set up by the occupation forces, in particular the detention centers in the al-Riji Building in al-Nabatiyah, Sur, the outskirts of Sayda, Tallah Mar Ilyas, and Kafr-Fallus.

The Ansar inmates had sent a telegram to Arab kings and presidents, through the International Red Cross Committee, praising the efforts to release them and deliver them from the torture and coercion they are suffering in this camp.

It should be noted that a year ago, after the PLO-Israeli prisoner exchange of 24 November 1983, the inmates of the Ansar camp, who numbered about 6,000 at that time, were released from that camp, which the Israelis had set up in the heart of the occupied South when it invaded Lebanon in June 1982. At that time, enemy information media and other media sympathetic to Israel depicted this release of the Ansar detainees as a political deal, whereas in actual fact it was the result of a struggle which had echoed around the world.

Only a few days after this exchange, the Israeli occupation authorities resumed filling the Ansar camp, and their other camps, with hundreds of Lebanese and Palestinian national detainees suspected of involvement in armed resistance against Israeli soldiers.

This week, people arriving in Beirut from the occupied town of al-Nabatiyah told AL-MUSTAQBAL that the Israeli forces have initiated new procedures for the Ansar inmates. These measures call for transferring Palestinian prisoners to the Central Prison in Israel, and Lebanese prisoners to the big prison at the Marj'uyun barracks, run by the militia of Antoine Lahhud, the commander of the so-called Army of South Lebanon.

Reports have confirmed that these measures are part of the Israeli occupation forces' preparations for evacuating the area after their partial withdrawal, which is expected to take place in the next few weeks.

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CSO: 4404/135

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ACTIVITIES OF 'ARMENIAN DOCUMENTARY CENTER' IN PARIS DETAILED

Tehran ALIK in Armenian 10 Dec 84 p 5

[Text] The Armenian Documentary Center in Paris was founded 16 months ago. The center is located on Trevis Street in the 9th District of Paris. Several other Armenian cultural organizations are also located on the same street.

The goals of the Armenian Documentary Center are:

1. To inform the French people and the minorities living in France about Armenian history and culture through exhibitions, lectures and publications.
2. To provide a permanent place of work for Armenians who are interested in their culture and history.
3. To offer services to cultural centers, teachers, journalists and Armenian organizations who wish to organize exhibitions or to study issues concerning the Armenian people.

The center maintains ties with all countries where there are Armenian communities.

The Armenian Documentary Center receives major financial support from the French government. The rest of its income is derived from membership dues and revenues from its cultural productions.

In the short period since its founding, the center's activities have been prolific, and it has secured the sponsorship and collaboration of several Armenian and French individuals. The center's growing number of subdivisions are organized as follows:

Photographs: Microfilm, slides and photographs.

Written Materials: Specialized studies, travelogues.

Video Materials: Tapes on testimonies and civic information.

Books: Books on fundamental issues.

Posters: Posters on language, art, history and culture.

Musical Materials: Score sheets, tapes and records.

Film: Various documentary footage.

Maps: Old and new maps.

Exhibitions.

The most important accomplishments of the Armenian Documentary Center so far include its participation in the "Languages Exhibit" and its publication of a photographic album.

The International Week of Languages and Cultures was held in the Grand Palace of Paris from 28 January to 3 February. More than 350 languages and cultures were represented at this exhibit. The purpose of the exhibit was to inform the public about the birth and development of the languages represented and to shed light on the history and culture of the countries where those languages are spoken.

Visitors to the Armenian exhibit included the French ministers of post and telecommunications and culture as well as Armenian and French literary, artistic and academic figures. The Antenne-2 television station and the France-Inter radio station lauded the good taste and the richness of the Armenian exhibit in their programs. The visitors expressed astonishment and admiration at the richness of Armenian culture.

One visitor wrote: "I was fascinated by the richness of the Armenian language and culture. The Armenians have an impressive cultural heritage and I find it sad that today the public's attention is focused solely on the political issue."

The center's second major accomplishment was its publication of a photographic album entitled "Panoramas and Portraits."

The album represents the historical evolution of Armenian photography in the 50-year period between 1880 and 1930. Leafing through the album we learn that in the field of photography Armenians were pioneers in the Ottoman Empire. Armenian photographic studios were opened only a few years after Niepse and Dager's invention. Studios were opened in Istanbul in 1856, in Jerusalem in 1857, in Aleppo in 1880, in Marash and Ayntab in 1884 and in Beirut in 1885.

The album is divided into five parts, each of which covers a decade in the timespan between 1880 and 1930.

One notable picture in the first part of the album is a photograph of Daniel Varujan's family taken at the end of 1890 when the future poet was a 6-year-old child. The photographs of the decade 1910-1920 are of historical import in view of the fateful events of those years.

The photographs of the period 1920-1930 portray the lives of the Armenian refugees in Aleppo.

The Armenian Documentary Center has also organized several exhibitions and lectures not only in France but in several European capitals to promote the rich history and culture of the Armenian people among foreigners.

Considering the resources of the center its work is commendable particularly since it is operating in Paris which is considered the heart of the world and the capital of European culture and enlightenment. As a result even the most modest work in that city can have relatively broad repercussions.

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ASALA THREATENS TO RESUME OPERATIONS AGAINST FRANCE

Threat to Explode French Airliner

Istanbul JAMANAK in Armenian 31 Dec 84 p 1

[Text] Paris--Following a threat issued by ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia] two days ago to attack French passenger planes, the police in Paris was put on alert and security measures were tightened around airports and train stations.

Stricter security precautions were also taken around the Orly and Charles de Gaulle airports in Paris.

Police units were dispatched to these airports, and airliners preparing to take off were searched for bombs with electronic instruments.

Police officials disclosed that all planes are being searched irrespective of their destinations and that, in accordance with the "first stage emergency plan," the belongings and papers of all passengers arriving in Paris are being carefully inspected.

The officials said: "We do not want to see the repetition of the explosion that occurred in Marseilles on New Year's Eve last year."

Security precautions were also increased in and around the central train station in Paris. In particular, the security officials searched the passenger cars of the TGV bullet train with electronic instruments. Passengers headed for Lyon and Marseilles were also searched.

Meanwhile, ASALA set off two bombs yesterday in front of French organizations in Beirut.

Hagopian Reportedly Travels as Libyan Diplomat

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 31 Dec 84 pp 1,8

[Text] News agencies report from Beirut and Paris that the Armenian terrorist organization, ASALA, has stepped up its efforts to free the Orly defendants, that it has staged bomb attacks against two French organizations in Beirut for that purpose and that it has threatened to blow up a passenger plane in midair.

An unidentified man called the news agencies and said in Arabic that ASALA took this decision six days ago and that it will soon carry out its threat to blow up a French airliner in midflight.

Meanwhile, Jacques (Baclutti), a French secret service official, has charged that ASALA leader Hagopian is traveling on a diplomatic passport issued by the Libyan government and that he is organizing several acts of terrorism similar to the attack on Orly airport.

9588

CSO: 4605/59

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ARMENIANS SAID 'TO INTENSIFY' ANTI-TURKISH OPERATIONS IN 1985

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 1 Jan 85 p 1

[Text] According to news agency reports, the organization known as the "Armenian National Committee" held a special meeting recently in Munich, West Germany, and prepared a plan for its future activities. At the meeting, it was decided to intensify attacks against Turkey and to expand the work on the political front.

To that end it was decided to step up the effort to promote the Armenian Cause among U.S. congressmen and senators as well as the representatives of the member nations of the Council of Europe.

Participants in the meeting included delegates from 15 different countries. Most notable was the presence of delegates from North and South America and Middle Eastern countries.

It was also observed at the meeting that, in contrast to ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia] which has chosen the path of brute force and terrorism as its means of action, the "Armenian National Committee" prefers diplomacy as a means of promoting its cause.

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CSO: 4605/61

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

TEHRAN PRELATE INTERVIEWED ON RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL ISSUES

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 2 Jan 85 pp 5, 18

/Interview with Ardak Manukian; place and date not specified/

/Text/ The 1985 Christian New Year has commenced, with Christian Iranian celebrating the New Year and the birth of Jesus Christ. We thought it appropriate to interview Armenian Archbishop Ardak Manukian and ask him how Armenians of Iran celebrate the New Year and the birth of Jesus Christ.

First we asked about special traditions of the Christian New Year and programs of our Armenian fellow-citizens on these occasions. The Armenian Archbishop responds: There is no connection whatsoever between the New Year and religious feasts. The New Year is marked by a regular Sunday-type mass merely to start the new calendar with prayer and benediction. This is a tradition which has continued to the present day from before the Christian era.

For us the New Year is merely indicative of the changing of time and year, a cycle of hours, weeks, months and years, a renewal of time. We must know when a day starts and when it ends, both as a political as well as a religious time frame. For some, the day started with the streak of light and ended the beginning of darkness, for others the start and end of a day was according to sunrise and sunset, and for some others a new day started at midday. In the East sunrise heralds the start of a day.

In early days Iranians and Armenians began their day with sunrise but according to later calculations the start of a day came to be considered as after midnight. Thus midnight 31 December is the beginning of the 1st day of the Christian New Year.

For Armenians, the 1st day of the New Year, according to tradition, is known as "amanor" or "gaghant." "Amanor" was observed before the coming of Christ and was considered a day of blessing and abundance. "Gaghant" was introduced by Catholics and has the meaning of proclaimer or towncrier because of the ending of the old and the start of the New Year.

Armenians prepare for New Year's eve several weeks before the event, including housecleaning. Among other customs is putting up a decorated evergreen tree in a room. This customs predates Christianity and was intended to start the

year with greenery and joy in the home. In ancient times they believed the souls of the dead resided in the forests and setting up an evergreen tree in the house was a form of respect for the forest and the souls of the dead. The trees brought into homes on New Year's eve were those that were considered sacred. The tree has another significance for another day, in that it is used a week before Easter which occurs close to the Iranian New Year or about 3 months from the start of the New Year.

After decorating the tree, presents for members of the family are left under the tree.

No special dishes are served on New Years eve. Only regular meals but the serving of nuts and candies as well as the gathering of all members of the family are a must. At midnight the elder of the family heralds in the New Year by saying a prayer followed by the arrival of Santa Claus, a tradition which goes back to early times in both the West and the East. The tradition of Santa Claus had been observed even before Christianity and gradually became part of the New Year customs. "Papa Noel" represented an old, kind-hearted and affectionate man bearing gifts. With changes which have now taken place in the world, instead of sending gifts, greeting cards are used. Another Armenian custom is the visit to each other's homes on New Year's day. The question comes to mind from what day the ancient Armenians observed the start of the New Year before 1st of January later became the start of the year.

In ancient times Armenians called the new year "Navasart" which, according to some accounts was observed at the start of summer. From my own personal research I have come to the conclusion that with the passage of centuries "Navasart" or New Year observances took place at different times and that Armenians in Iran, like all other Iranians, observed 1 Farvardin (21 March) as the New Year throughout the country.

Another prevalent custom is for heads of governments, governors, military commanders and other officials to exchange greeting cards. To repeat, New Year has no religious connotation but merely observance of a new Christian year. We asked what religious programs are observed in churches on the occasion of the New Year. Archbishop Manukian says: The same ceremony observed on Sundays is observed on New Year's too.

We asked about the number of Armenians and the imperialist rumor which has contended that a large number of Iranian Armenians have emigrated. He replied: According to a census taken, there are between 250,000 and 300,000 Armenians in Iran and contrary to the rumor they have spread, according to the research we have done, the number of those emigrating has not exceeded 10,000 to 15,000 persons.

It should be noted that the Catholics and those Protestants who celebrate Christmas on 25 December also have observances on 6 January. The Armenian Church, known as Church of the East, is totally Armenian. It follows special customs and religious rites. Some 1,500 years ago the Armenian Church did not participate in the Chalcedon Congress, refused to accept decision taken at that meeting, separated from other churches and became an independent church.

According to documents, prior to this meeting all churches and all Christian denominations celebrated 6 January as the day of birth and baptism. We asked what was the reason for 25 December being announced as the birthday of Jesus Christ, with a number of denominations conforming to it? The answer was: In ancient times pilgrims who journeyed to Jerusalem were required by tradition to be in Bethlehem on 6 January before going to the place where Jesus was baptized, a long distance difficult to traverse. For this reason they decided to separate the events into 2 days so that pilgrims could go from one place to another without difficulty. At the same time in those days the Latin region (Europe) held celebrations around 25 December for Saturn the Sun Goddess and on 25 December idolatry rites were observed. The birth of Mitra is also on 25 December. As you know Mitraism originated in Iran and gradually spread to Europe. Because of these reasons, the Armenians remained faithful to their traditions by refusing to participate in the conclave and continued to observe 6 January as the day of birth and baptism of Jesus Christ. Of course this is not a religious difference but a difference over date which exists between Christians.

We asked about the programs of the Armenians for the New Year and the birthday of Jesus and what aid they have given to the imposed war. The Armenian Archbishop of Iran answered: It is 5 years that, on the advice of the Church, Armenian Iranians have not held any New Year programs outside their homes and each year, according to a decree issued by the Church, the Armenians have been banned from going to public places and holding celebrations in such places. This action has primarily been intended as a mark of respect for the martyred. The imposed war caused our country to lose many of its dear ones. We must remember our martyrs even in days of joy and celebration, and honor their memory. That is why we have asked our Armenian fellow-citizens to observe the New Year in simple fashion in their homes. Our country is at war and it is out of place to hold big celebrations and dances. In respect for the blood of the martyrs and because of participation in the war imposed upon the Iranian nation, we do not consider any New celebrations appropriate.

In conclusion, Armenian Archbishop Ardak Manukian had this message for his fellow-Armenian citizens for the New Year and the birthday of Christ: I send you greetings on the occasion of the New Year and the day of birth of Jesus Christ and honor the memory of the martyrs. I wish long life and success for Imam Khomeyni, leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

I pray that the world may exist in peace and tranquility and that the imposed war may end in total victory for the Iranian nation.

All religions have their own laws and conventions. Islam and Christianity believe in one God and Eastern people are closer than others to God and religion. For this reason people in the East are closer to each other and therefore not separated.

On this occasion, I pray to God that Iran and its people may live in peace and joy, devoting themselves to the reconstruction of their land and the achievement of their aspirations. God protect Iran and its people.

5854

CSO: 4640/260

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

AZNAVOUR'S MEDIATION OFFER--The popular singer, Charles Aznavour, has told the correspondent of the Spanish publication EL PERIODICO that he can act as a mediator in the fundamental resolution of the Armenian problem so that more blood is not shed unnecessarily. In his statement Aznavour noted that he is above all a Frenchman since he lives on French soil. He added: "However, since I was born an Armenian the Armenian problem concerns and grieves me by the way of the blood that flows in my veins. I do not want blood to be shed unnecessarily, and that is why I am prepared to act as a mediator between the two sides." [Text] [Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 1 Jan 85 p 1] 9588

CSO: 4605/62

EGYPT

## SLP URGES REFORM OF MINISTERIAL PROSECUTION LAW

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 30 Oct 84 p 1

[Editorial by Hamid Zaydan: "Required Amendments To Revive Ministerial Prosecution Law"]

[Text] Egypt has a law called the ministerial prosecution law. Although it is a general law, it is not enforced or applied, and by virtue of its provisions, it is neither enforceable nor applicable.

Egypt has witnessed some serious cases that brought charges against ministers. The most famous case was that of Ahmad Sultan, deputy prime minister during the regime of late President Sadat, who was charged with accepting bribes from an American firm. The laws did not allow his questioning because the law does not permit the prosecution of ministers, although Egypt has an unenforceable and inapplicable law called the ministerial prosecution law.

Although charges are still being directed against present and past ministers for actions committed in their jurisdictions while in power, these charges, by force of law, stop at the minister's threshold without going through the door.

The tragedy of the ministerial prosecution law is that it was enacted during the union between Egypt and Syria. At that time, it was considered a splendid accomplishment in the field of legislation, and also a vehicle for proclaiming the ministers' honesty and integrity as well. It was meant to underscore the motto that no one was above the law and that the arm of the law reached all citizens, rulers and ruled alike. Furthermore, it was meant to indicate that justice had only one vision with the same fixed criteria and that the principle that everyone is equal before the law is an established fact.

But, as the saying goes, "this joy was not to be."

After the anti-unity and anti-Arab nationalism forces, and those forces opposed to the resolutions calling for a socialist change in Syria at the time, dealt a blow to this unity which was subsequently dissolved, many precepts that characterized laws enacted in the UAR era were dropped.

One of the most prominent laws was the ministerial prosecution law which said in Article I that the prosecution of ministers was entrusted to a supreme court

composed of 12 members, 6 of whom were to be from the Council of State and the other 6 from among the Court of Cassation justices (in Egypt, the southern region) and the Appeals Court (in Syria, the northern region), 3 of whom would be chosen by lot by the Higher Judiciary Council in each region. An equal number of Council of State members and justices would be chosen as alternates.

Article III of this law stipulated "prosecution shall be entrusted to three Council of State members who may be assisted by one or more public prosecutor's office officials. Prosecution shall be represented in court by the prosecutor general in the Egyptian region and by the Appeals Court prosecutor general in the Syrian region, as the case may be."

Article VIII said: "When a motion for indictment is filed, the Council of State shall form an investigating committee composed of five of its members." This is in addition to the other stipulation contained in the law's 25 articles.

In one word, this law was rendered unenforceable and inapplicable by its own provisions, a matter that requires no more than a change of words to transform it from a law of two regions, one northern and the other southern, to a law of a country called Egypt.

All it takes in this stage of Egyptian multi-party democracy, with a ruling party that commands a sweeping and overwhelming majority, is a change in the supreme court's composition, which should be composed of judicial elements instead of elements from the People's Assembly which replaced the National Assembly.

Whereas National Assembly representation at that time was justifiable in view of the fact that one single political organization represented all the labor factions, things are different now when such representation is undertaken by several parties. Even the ruling party majority has become suspect by the opposition parties because of their reservations about the integrity of the elections.

Because of this, we believe that the modification of the court's composition to include judicial elements is a basic issue so that the ruling party would not prosecute the ruling party in the person of its ruling minister via its deputies who may be chosen by its majority in the People's Assembly.

Therefore, and in order to preserve the honesty, purity and reputation of Egypt's ministers, we call for the revival of this law and the effectuation of such modifications to give Egypt a real law for the prosecution of ministers and not just a historical and legislative legacy that reminds us that once upon a time there was an Egyptian-Syrian united republic that had a ministerial prosecution law which was abolished with the fall of the union.

We also believe that the ruling party ministers should be as eager as we in calling for the revival of this law. They possess all the necessary tools for issuing it in minutes and even seconds, and they must not wait for President Husni Mubarak's directives to rush to expedite it in compliance with

his wishes. Otherwise, the president's wish, which we share, will have pre-empted their eagerness and condemned their failure to clear themselves before public opinion of all the things brought up now as well as those raised in the seventies when most of them were ministers at a time when Egyptian President Sadat used to say: "Anyone who does not get rich during my regime will never get rich at all."

12502

CSO: 4504/93

EGYPT

# LIBERAL PARTY VIEWS FOREIGN POLICY

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 29 Oct 84 p 1

[Editorial by Mustafa Kamil Murad: "Opposition Viewpoint: The President's Visit to France and Germany"]

[Text] There is no doubt that Egypt's great success in its foreign policy is due primarily to the positive steps President Mubarak has adopted in all the various relationships that link Egypt to the outside world. Good relations with the United States, based on mutual interests between the two countries, have persisted, as did friendly relations with West European countries. Diplomatic representation with the USSR has been upgraded to the ambassadorial level in fulfillment of mutual interests and Egypt has regained its position among the non-aligned countries as well. His position with Israel on the return of the Egyptian ambassador to Tel Aviv was clear, emphasizing that the ambassador's return was linked to Israel's announcement of a timetable for its withdrawal from Lebanon, the resumption of the Taba talks and autonomy for the Palestinian people. Moreover, Egypt's good offices in mediating between Iran and Iraq proved its efficacy and positivism in solving problems between Arab and Islamic countries.

As for the visit to West Germany and France which begins today, it represents further support for Egypt's relations with these two great West European countries which are also great industrial states and leaders of civilization and modern technological advancement. Therefore, periodic consultations, be they on their bilateral relations with Egypt or concerning the Palestinian problem or the Iraq-Iran issue, are of great importance.

The Liberal Party, in supporting President Mubarak's steps with Germany and France, believes it necessary to call attention to the following points for the Egyptian as well as the German and French governments to see and hear.

First, Egypt receives loans, grants and [credit] facilities from Germany and France, something greatly appreciated by Egypt and its ancient people. We see, however, that loans from these two countries are paid in free currency, most of which, if not all, goes to financing public sector projects. Whereas private investments in Egypt amount to about 8 billion in the 5-year plan, at an average of 1.6 billion annually or 22 percent of the total volume of investments, and whereas we desire to bring up private sector investments in

Egypt to 45 percent of the overall investment volume, consistent with its percentage in the GNP, we see a need to allocate at least 20 percent of the loans, grants and facilities to the Egyptian private sector in all the various fields of services and agricultural and industrial production, provided they are paid in Egyptian pounds at the posted official rate with repayment made in Egyptian pounds to a special account for the embassies of these two countries to be used for embassy expenses [in Egypt].

Second, French and German aid to Egypt must be augmented at an annual rate of no less than 10 percent, a percentage equal to the inflation rate, to avoid a drop in the volume of goods and services imported from these two countries.

Third, loans must not be tied to specific projects, but rather allocated for 5-year plan projects chosen by the government.

Fourth, part of these loans must be given in the form of liquid money to allow Egypt to make up the deficit in some projects.

Fifth, grants related to training in agricultural industries, the construction and construction material industry and the application of technology in the field of agriculture to raise production and to automate the industry must be increased.

Sixth, last but not least, political and social continuity, and democratic growth in Egypt as well, is the best guarantee for encouraging the small and medium private sector to increase its investments in Egypt in accordance with existing investment laws.

The good relations between Egypt and both Germany and France in the long run deserve a re-examination by the two governments of aid programs, facilities and loans granted to Egypt, the heart of the Arab world, the gate to North Africa and the mainstay of democratic and civilizational progress in this sensitive region of the world.

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EGYPT

## NEW FOREIGN EXCHANGE REGULATIONS EXPLAINED

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 18 Dec 84 p 7

[Article by Fatin 'Abd-al-Raziq: "Minister of Economy States at Meeting of Banking Federation, 'The Purpose of the New Foreign Exchange System Is To Put Moneychangers and Brokers out of Business'; Federation President Says Banks To Participate in Paving Nile Corniche"]

[Text] Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, minister of economy and foreign trade announced that the new foreign exchange system was being discussed by economic officials so that an agreement on the change could be reached by all groups. He said the new system will include the exchange rates for implementing investment projects as well as travel services projects. Nabil Ibrahim, president of the Banking Federation, affirmed that the banking system will play a more active part in financing, implementing and promoting production projects in the country. He said that banks had contributed to the costs of paving the Nile Corniche from Rawd al-Faraj to Hulwan. He said that banks had joined the governorate of Cairo in that effort. Dr Sultan Abu 'Ali, vice president of the Investment Authority, asked that emphasis be placed on small and medium-sized projects that citizens need and that can utilize the savings of Egyptians employed abroad. These statements were made during the meeting that was held yesterday by the Federation of Banks operating in Egypt.

The Federation of Banks Operating in Egypt held its monthly meeting yesterday. The meeting was attended by representatives of 44 public, private and joint sector banks that are members of the federation.

### A New Foreign Exchange System

Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, minister of the economy spoke at the beginning of the meeting. He said, "State officials would like ministers of the economic group and experts to agree on a new foreign exchange system that would provide the foreign currency needs of private citizens and of various sectors in the country and put moneychangers and currency brokers out of business." The minister emphasized the importance of the banking system as one of the foundations of the Egyptian economy, and he asked that more effort be made to affirm its role in furthering the progress of the development effort.

### Investment Priorities

Then Nabil Ibrahim, president of the Federation of Banks said, "Priorities for

selecting investment projects in each ministry have been reported to the Federation of Banks. As far as agriculture is concerned, the state has placed emphasis on projects to produce select grains and manufacture pesticides and fertilizers; it has given priority to these projects. The state has also given priority to automation in farming, to marketing non-traditional crops, building refrigeration facilities for storage and reclaiming and cultivating land.

"With regard to industry priority is being given to those industries that support the automobile and electronics industries. The Ministry of Industry has expressed its willingness to turn over the economic studies that were made on these projects and to work with experts of the Industrialization Authority after it became evident that the authority has specialized expertise in technical studies." Nabil Ibrahim announced that a committee was formed to provide the necessary funding for projects whose economic feasibility has been established and which are needed by citizens. The committee, which will be chaired by Fu'ad Sultan, president of the Misr-Iran Bank, will consist of representatives of the Investment Authority, the Money Market and the Federation of Banks.

Then Dr Sultan Abu 'Ali, vice president of the Investment Authority spoke. He affirmed that the banks were capable not only of providing the funding that is necessary for projects, but that they were also capable of giving confidence to investors and founders of these projects. Banks give investors this confidence when they contribute to those projects.

Fu'ad Sultan, president of the Misr-Iran Bank said that the new foreign exchange system had to include not only regulations for the currency market that would make currencies available to each citizen who needed them, but that it also had to set the rate of exchange for foreign currencies with regard to investment projects. At the present time this rate is 184 piasters per dollar, and that rate, of course, is not lucrative.

Dr Ahmad Abu Isma'il, former minister of finance asked that the Federation of Banks contribute to projects that are more effective and more useful to citizens. He asked that the Federation of Banks contribute to projects that offer the country advanced technology.

Dr al-Sa'id at the Export Conference: Exports for Survival

Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, minister of economy, declared at the Second International Conference for Developing Packaging for Exports that the question of Egyptian exports was closely related to monetary and credit policies and the removal of all obstacles to exporters, especially customs, taxes, transportation, shipping, packaging and wrapping. The minister asked that the slogan, "Exports for Survival," replace that of "Exports for Prosperity."

The conference will be debating 15 studies about modern packaging and wrapping methods and means for reducing packaging costs over a period of 3 days. Egyptian and foreign experts will be taking part in these discussions. The conference will issue its recommendations next Wednesday.

EGYPT

ASSEMBLY DEBATE ON PRESS FREEDOM REPORTED

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic No 2618, 26 Dec 84 p 24

[Article by 'Awatif Nash'at: "One Week in Parliament: A Heated Debate on the Freedom of the National Press and Policy of Loans"]

[Text] For the first time assembly members from the majority party agree with representatives from the Wafd Party: both groups asked that a representative of the Wafd Party be removed from the platform. They asked the speaker of the assembly not to allow him to continue talking because he had used up all his time. Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub and Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi had responded to the representative in an objective persuasive manner, and the entire assembly, the majority and the opposition, had applauded them.

The matter began when Muhammad 'Id, a representative who is a member of the Wafd Party and who speaks in a loud, deafening voice, stood up to say what he thought about the government's statement. He criticized everything: the Camp David Accords, the policy on loans, the national press, the emergency laws and the Socialist Prosecution Agency. He was also critical of the fact that people did not have the freedom to organize parties.

The representative asked, "Is the press in Egypt a national press? Are newspapers owned by the people? Journalists are civil servants: they are appointed in press organizations and transferred from them. Therefore, such a press cannot be a national press."

Mr 'Id then proceeded to attack the policy on loans. He said, "If we want to achieve freedom, Egypt must be liberated from its loans. This is because the country's debt has always been hanging like a sword over Egyptians' necks."

Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub asked the representative what he would suggest to solve the problem of debts and loans.

But the representative went on talking. He called for development of the national economy by increasing production, curbing tax evasion and fighting excessive wealth. He called for moving factories from cities to desert areas. Then he went back and criticized the Camp David Accords and asked that relations with Israel be broken because Israel had violated the peace treaty. He called for the restoration of relations with Arab countries and the liberation of Palestine.

Again, the speaker asked the representative: "You've called for not going through with the loans, but you did not tell us your suggestions for solving this problem."

The representative said, "I'm coming to that. I'm coming to it!"

Then the speaker said, "We wish that solving the problem depended on enthusiasm. If that were the case, I would be the first to become enthusiastic. This is a complicated matter. Converting a foreign loan to a national loan could have been possible in the past. The loans that we have now are not like those that we had in the past and that led to occupation. At that time it was possible to convert Egyptian pounds freely into pounds sterling, and that process was advantageous to Britain. But this is no longer being done now. Now we must use foreign currency to pay back foreign loans. If Egypt had these foreign currencies, it would not need such loans. The history of development in the world does not provide models of countries that turned to development without loans. This is because national savings are not enough for the development effort. Those who are asking Egypt not to borrow are asking it to stop its development effort. The funds that we are borrowing from the United States have amounted to 2.240 billion dollars. We borrow this money for consumption and production. Enthusiasm alone doesn't get things done; being realistic does. The percentage of Egypt's loans has not gone beyond the limit of security. If we do not borrow, then we are accepting backwardness."

#### National Newspapers Are Free

Tawfiq 'Abduh Isma'il commented, "We are in a country that needs to have matters organized. That is why a few controls have been placed on the freedom to organize parties so that national unity can be preserved. Partisan newspapers publish their opinions without any restrictions, and national newspapers are free to publish what they think. We have not heard of an editor who got fired or transferred, nor have we heard of a newspaper that refused to print someone's commentary. I have found in some cases when I sent items for publication to a few newspapers that are regarded by some as national newspapers--and we think they are--that these newspapers took the position of not publishing replies from the government and from me personally. I had to go to court over that. Isn't this democracy and freedom for everyone?"

The speaker of the assembly remarked, "How is freedom of the press measured? Is it not measured by the freedom that opposition newspapers have?"

The minister replied, "The measure is the freedom that newspapers have. There are no restrictions on journalists in Egypt. We read reports in opposition newspapers that contradict government statements, and this happens quite freely. Further exaggerations from you would not be proper. Liberties are preserved in accordance with the law."

But the representative swayed to the right and to the left as he spoke with great fervor against Camp David and Israel and called for the return of Egypt to the ranks of Arabs. As he talked he would respond to those representatives who were interrupting him and laughing at him. He even reprimanded one representative, who is a member of the Wafd Party, because he was jesting with him. Mr 'Id told that representative, "The position I am in is not appropriate for

wisecracks." It was then that 'Ulwi Hafiz stood up and went to Mumtaz Nassar, leader of the opposition. Mr Hafiz whispered to Mr Nassar his remonstrations about the manner in which the representative was speaking. It was a manner that elicited comments from assembly members. At the same time the ranks of the majority and the ranks of the opposition called upon Mr 'Id to conclude his statement. But Muhammad 'Id addressed the representatives in the assembly and asserted that he could go on talking despite the noise.

Then the speaker of the assembly intervened and called Mr 'Id's attention to the fact that he had taken up more time than he should have and that he had to conclude his remarks.

#### Egypt's Destiny Is Determined by Egyptians

Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi, deputy prime minister and minister of higher education proved that he was more than an illustrious scholar and a virtuous educator. He proved he was also a superb and persuasive parliamentarian. His reply to the representative, who is a member of the Wafd Party, was brilliant. He was applauded by everyone in the assembly: the majority and the opposition.

Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi said, "We can't say that Egypt's writers are civil servants who receive instructions from somebody. Writers express their own free authentic opinions. It may be said that civil servants receive orders through ordinances, instruction codes or other means. God forbid that we should say that Egypt's writers and minds have been frozen, that they are incapable of acting on their own and that they are receiving instructions. Egypt's writers did reach the age of majority thousands of years ago. They are free, and there are no restrictions on what they think or what they write. They enriched the 1919 Revolution and Sa'd Zaghlul, the dean of revolutions. This is the truth that we affirm and teach our children. Egypt's revolutions do not stop at Egypt's borders. These revolutions have been beacons providing a guiding light to all free people everywhere. The 23 July Revolution and Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir were the culmination of these successive revolutions. And just as Sa'd Zaghlul and the people's revolution of 1919 rightly and truly gave people everywhere a model to follow and learn from, so was the 23 July Revolution a continuation of the national course. The 23 July Revolution was a revolution that taught people a lesson, and its leader was also a teacher. We have all seen the effect which that revolution has had on Africa and on the Third World. It is a free, nationalist revolution. This is what we're teaching our children. We are teaching them that without ignoring our leaders or infringing upon their prestige and their leadership role."

Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi then went on to say, "Representative 'Id referred to Sinai by saying, 'Somewhere in some country.' There is a sign which says that the territory of that state extends from the Nile to the Euphrates. Since when was Egypt's destiny determined in another country? Egypt's destiny is decided here. You, the citizens of Egypt, determine Egypt's future. Egypt's future is determined by its own citizens and by the blood of its martyrs. The future of this land is not decided in the Knesset or in some other body. That will never happen. The liberation of Sinai did not come about through rhetoric or negotiations. It was achieved in the name of God. God is Great! We were witnesses to

that. The honorable representative may rest assured that there are free men in Egypt everywhere. Egypt has reached the age of majority, and no harm will come to it as long as there is freedom and as long as there are free men in the country. God is great and long live Egypt and the free people of Egypt."

8592

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EGYPT

AL-AHALI REBUKES MUSA SABRI'S BRAND OF JOURNALISM

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 24 Oct 84 p 3

[Editorial: "To The Podium Writer Who Foments Discord"]

[Text] AL-AKHBAR newspaper's editor-in-chief, Mr Musa Sabri, said in one of his articles that he has dedicated his life--God give him good health--to fighting the "communist order and terrorist extremism." Although the National Grouping Party [NPUG] is not a communist party and harbors no affection for "terrorism," "communists and extremists" alike have a right to feel proud and happy because the man who has decided to fight them is Musa Sabri, notwithstanding the fact that, as usual, rhetoric has failed Mr Musa Sabri. So far as we know, the communists are not "in government" in Egypt and it has never been his habit to fight anyone in government!

Although Musa Sabri has specialized in writing about one single subject throughout the past years, namely writing false statements against the NPUG, AL-AHALI newspaper and Khalid Muhyi-al-Din on the basis that they are communists, the real value of such writings always lies in the addition of new papers to the record of lies kept by some security agencies.

Nonetheless, it is noted that Musa Sabri throughout his journalistic career has dedicated himself to many things in which he has been unsuccessful, perhaps due to his malice or bad choice. He dedicated himself in the past to defending the king of Egypt and the minority parties that came to power through coercion, terrorism and rigged elections, only to be suddenly confronted by the July Revolution. He immediately got on the revolution's bandwagon on the basis of being one of the strugglers against the English and the palace.

He then thought at one point (and thinking can be sinful) that 'Abd-al-Nasir's national regime was communist, so he took a 3-week tour of the USSR, Poland and East Germany, after which he published a book extolling the "communist" system in these countries with a degree of zeal unknown to many believers in Marxism-Leninism.

Then came Sadat who was against everything that 'Abd-al-Nasir and the July Revolution had done. Musa Sabri described him on the pages of AL-AKHBAR as the greatest leader in the history of humanity all over the world since the dawn of history!

With such irresponsible and crude rhetoric, a senior journalist holding the position of editor-in-chief tackles the discussion of our public affairs, beginning with the reasons for a bad potato crop all the way to the war and peace issues.

And, with such shallowness, he always has opinions to publish, extolling any ruler and ridiculing any thought or principle. I wish he was known for studying the thoughts of his adversaries, be they right, left or center, in order to know how to fight them or how to offer the proper service to the proper ruler or the proper reader. But he, one of the three whom some respected Egyptian thinkers hold responsible for Sadat's assassination because of his vociferous propaganda and exaltation of all the decisions issued by Sadat, does not stop for one moment to think things over because his fixed goal has always been to get close to the ruler and not to tell the truth or to publish the facts, or even to hold his tongue when necessary.

Not too long ago, textile factory workers in Kafr al-Dawwar were involved in some incidents. They did not try to destroy their factories; quite the contrary. They did not halt production, but rather increased it during the two day sit-in protesting wages and prices.

All sensible people who are always eager to preserve production stability and growth believe that such problems are normal and to be settled, not by confrontation and violence, but rather through understanding and fulfillment of all reasonable demands. Because the NPUG is known for its defense of the legitimate demands of all workers and of the right of various groups to peaceful strikes and demonstrations, even under police protection, Mr Musa Sabri's education and superior thinking led him, along with some security elements, to accuse the Grouping Party of staging the "riots," and then led him to the review of his profound economic data considered to be disgraceful for any writer at any level.

He believes that the right to strike and demonstrate is inconsistent with growth and investment. Is denying the workers their most fundamental economic and unionist rights consistent with growth and investment? Is there a system in the world able to force workers to give the best they have to offer without giving them their most important material and moral rights?

In Great Britain, the oldest capitalist nation in the world, coal miners have been on strike for 8 months and "Iron Lady" Thatcher has not felt that forcing the workers back to work (although she has a large enough majority in the House of Commons to enact any law) might be to the benefit of production, investment and stability.

In private discussions and in some writings, Musa Sabri expresses his total admiration for the rights of peoples governed by capitalist orders in the U.S. and Europe. When it comes to Egypt, however, the Egyptian people, with all their factions, become a third-class people not entitled to the most fundamental rights many peoples have been enjoying for dozens of years and [not entitled] to what the Egyptian people have enjoyed in previous eras before the

minority governments, through the authority of the British occupation forces and the kings, dispossessed them of such "dangerous" rights.

Should we show Mr Musa Sabri a "dangerous communist" who believes in democratic rights for the Egyptian people as the only way to raise production, avoid repression and eruption and achieve stability?

This "dangerous communist," even though we are not in the habit of informing against anyone, is the great professor, Khalid Muhammad Khalid, who wrote in the last edition of AL-MUSAWWAR magazine: "Any true and sincere democracy arms its people with the right to demonstrate and strike. Without these two rights for citizens, democracy is deficient and mutilated. These two rights are in total harmony with the philosophy and course of democracy which realizes that its primary task is to spare the people the disasters of repression with its dreadful resounding eruptions. Hence, it lifts the lid of the trapped steam, thus granting the helpless people the right to demonstrate and strike."

Professor Khalid Muhammad Khalid adds: "Democracy is indivisible for it is a complete living being whose influence, and that of the nation as well, is diminished to the same extent as its extremities, parts and elements are amputated, and the regime has exactly as much to lose as the people."

Who exhorts those who foment discord and destabilization? Are they the likes of Khalid Muhyi-al-Din and Khalid Muhammad Khalid, or is Mr Musa Sabri, the podium writer?

12502

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EGYPT

WAFD PAPER CHALLENGES NDP TO REFORM, RULE WISELY

Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 1 Nov 84 p 1, 11

[Editorial by Mustafa Shurdi: "With Best Wishes to The New Bureau!"]

[Text] It is our duty as Egyptians, as it is also our right, to follow the news of the NDP's organizations, to watch the party's attempts to mend its shaky structure and rebuild its sluggish formations, and to be reassured that these attempts realize a minimum of success at least. The NDP is the party ruling Egypt, with or without our will and regardless of the way it got to power and the tactics of pressure, coercion and forgery which the entire people of Egypt followed during the elections.

We want to be reassured about the state of the ruling party that steers a ship on which we are the passengers, has the power to make decisions that apply to us and faces difficult, intricate and extremely complex circumstances and the party whose disarrayed movement and haphazard behavior confirm that it does not see its objectives clearly enough and does not quite know its way. When objectives are lost sight of, time is wasted and efforts, sweat and money are squandered. When the road maps are lost, therein lies the grave danger for the abyss lies in wait, the pitfalls multiply and the people are the only ones who pay for this, in the end, in more backwardness, much misery and suffering on top of more suffering.

In the last 30 years, all the various political organizations of all different names were transformed into "decors" that are colored over and changed to befit the circumstances and suit the situation. But the producer is the same, the faces do not change and the story and details are not much different. The producer changes the title of the play at will, and when he senses that people's disgust has reached tremendous proportions and that he must offer a sacrificial lamb to take the blame for the mistakes, sins and crimes of a certain period, things get moving and the Liberation Rally [the original monolithic party under Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir] disappears and in comes the National Union which is then given the axe only to usher in the Socialist Union. Disasters grow, defeats occur and calamities start following one another. All of this is pinned on the Socialist Union, which is then buried in a great ceremony and the Egypt Party is born. Shortly thereafter, clouds of anger and rancor start gathering, so the producer decides to drop the Egypt Party to put on a new play called the National Democratic Party, but the story

is the same and the old faces return. Even some of the new faces came from the backstage of falsehood and grew up politically in the center stage of falsity and slander. The most dangerous lesson those generations learned in the school of hypocrisy and cheap political trickery was that no matter how many mistakes they committed, they did not have to pay the price nor did they have to face any penalty because "daddy," the producer, was always there to ward off the anger of the audience and to block the fury of the duped, forcing the people to stay in the theatre and pay for the tickets once again, while carrying a sword and whip for those who refuse or object. The whole thing comes down to a change in the title of the play and the set to start the show once again. It does not matter that the audience had closed their eyes in disgust or turned their back on the play out of anger and revulsion, the simplest methods of resistance and objection. It does not matter that it is the people who always pay the price and settle the account from their fate that was passed over by time, from their sweat that was lost in the sewer of ignorance, negligence and delusions and from their wealth that was depleted, making way for the mounds of debt.

We want to be reassured about the state of the ruling National Party for this is our duty and our right as Egyptians. Neither Egypt's political map nor its economic map nor its social map has any room left for a new mistake, for a fleeting or premeditated sin or for a haphazard blow caused by stumbling, off-handedness, loss of vision and lack of judgment.

What happened in the last few weeks is really alarming and even frightening. When the government raised the prices of some commodities and the people in the Egyptian street looked around shaken by this sudden step, the NDP, that boasts of having a majority and some of whose members are under the delusion that it is in power because the people chose it to rule, melted away. The members of the "majority" party disappeared completely from the public scene. Not one of them dared to sit in a cafe or in a union or among factory or cabinet workers to explain to them the story of the loaf of bread, for example, the background of the government's decision and the pressures on the country that led to such decisions, regardless of how wrong or right they were.

What happened in Kafr al-Dawwar, when the people flared up in anger which turned into fire and destruction, was that the NDP, which rules Egypt under the delusion that it has popularity and the majority, turned away at the first moment. Its members and disciples fled in fear the moment the people began to bellow in anger. The party's "commanders," leaders and notables disappeared when demonstrations broke out, burning government offices and cars and the National Party headquarters in Kafr al-Dawwar.

This does not mean that we sanction the idea of having a debate with the government, any government, by throwing stones, burning cars and installations and disrupting roads. Rather, we endorse democratic dialogue whereby opinions confront other opinions, arguments battle arguments and evidence outshines rumors and refutes slander. But what happened in Kafr al-Dawwar is that the people did not find anyone with whom to talk or exchange opinions or to offer an argument or proof that the government is hard pressed, excused or wronged. It was natural in this absence, and amid such dangerous political vacuums, to have a dialogue with stones and fire.

As for the NDP becoming a reality and for the apparition to come alive, it must be honest with itself about many things and look at itself in the mirror of truth, no matter how lonely and depressing this may be.

It is necessary, for example, that the NDP know who it really is and exactly who its father is. During the elections, it was screaming all over Egypt that it was the offspring of the July revolution and 'Abd-al-Nasir. Its members did not hesitate to fire several new shots at the late president, Anwar al-Sadat, as though they wanted to assassinate him all over again. Before the elections, the party used to boast of being the offspring of the May revolution and Anwar al-Sadat. Its members used to vie with each other in desecrating 'Abd-al-Nasir's grave and rubbing his history into the dirt. Now it claims to be the offspring of October and Husni Mubarak.

We do not blame the NDP for this confusion. The government gave birth to it from its cloak, just like the rabbit coming out of the magician's pocket or hat. This party, and the organizations before it, does not know what it is to be from the nation's womb or the great feeling of coming out of the people's belly. This ignorance made it like the test tube babies; therefore, we try to find excuses for it when we see it like a weak, confused and bewildered child always wanting to hold on to the tails of a government that supports it and a ruler who protects it, not realizing that it can grow up to be a father to the government and to rulers.

The NDP must define its identity, not only before the people, but above all, before itself. The reason the personality is lost and the identity is not there is because the ruling party is stumbling before the big national issues in a way at once pitiful and frightening. Some of its ministers deal with these issues in the socialist fashion; others deal with them in the capitalist fashion; and some try to work both sides of the street. If the open-door policy is the order of the day, it is a capitalist's and an advocate of a free economy and political democracy. If things deteriorate and revert to the closed-door policy, it is a socialist's and an advocate of the restrictions and the one-party system, with no objection to the reopening of detention camps. The NDP itself does not know how to deal with the stifling economic crisis. Not one of its officials is able to define with certainty his party's vision for getting out of this crisis.

Finally, and in all truth and sincerity, we wish the ruling NDP's new political office success and luck because it is at the helm and its continued fumbling can drown us all.

12502

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EGYPT

WAFD PARTY'S STRENGTH, POPULARITY EXPLAINED BY PARTY LEADER

Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 13, 20 Dec 84

[13 Dec 84 p 3]

[Interview with Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, leader of the Wafd Party, by Suhayr Iskandar; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din explains the secret behind the return of the Wafd Party.

"The Wafd would have never amounted to anything after such a lengthy absence if the Egyptian people did not believe in it."

"Egyptians stuck by the Wafd because it respected citizens' freedom."

"The authorities did not go to citizens' homes at dawn during the Wafd's administrations."

"Present parliamentary life is superficial and incomplete, and representatives of the ruling party do nothing but approve. They do not have the right to amend any budget item."

"Making fortunes in a short period of time has led to widespread social corruption. The Wafd Party was the first to set up controls on profits earned, but they were not carried out."

Winning people's affections is better than coming to power. There was nothing curious about the fact that in its early days the July Revolution overthrew the Wafd Party. But the fact that Egyptians continued to have affectionate feelings for the Wafd Party despite its lengthy absence from the political scene is miraculous. The Wafd Party was out of the political picture in Egypt for almost 30 years.

A few years ago, Dr 'Ali al-Din Hilal, one of our liberal intellectuals, wrote in a style that was most objective and hopeful that, "Although the Wafd party has ceased to exist as a political organization, it will survive forever as an idea and a symbol. No political regime in Egypt will enjoy real stability unless

it draws upon those sources which the Egyptian Wafd Party drew upon: Egyptian patriotism, the constitution, democracy and national unity." The people wanted the Wafd Party to return, and the party, strong and honored, returned as the largest opposition party in Egypt, representing the people in the People's Assembly. The Wafd Party has returned amid surging support [on the one hand] and unyielding hostility [on the other]. This was the true and operative beginning of the battle for democracy which is raging on the political scene.

I sought the leader of the Wafd Party for this interview which provides an opportunity to address some important questions and respond to some of the critical remarks that have been made against this formidable popular party. I sought this interview to find out what Mr Siraj-al-Din thought about numerous public matters.

[Question] How did the miracle happen? How did the new Wafd Party return? How did it receive this percentage [of the vote] in the People's Assembly despite what happened in the elections?

[Answer] The return of the Wafd is not attributable to Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din nor to his colleagues. Had it not been for the faith that the Egyptian people have in it, the Wafd Party would not have returned. People used to say that the Wafd Party ceased to exist: its contemporaries are no longer living, and young people know nothing about it. But those who said that were forgetting an important fact. They were forgetting that young people are citizens of this nation. Don't they have grandfathers and uncles? Didn't they see a picture here and there of Sa'd Zaghlul or Mustafa al-Nahhas despite the siege that was imposed? Young people have also been reading a great deal recently to make up for the gaps in the knowledge they received at the institutions of learning.

The late president Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir answered that question when that question wasn't even put to him. He did that when he addressed a national conference that was held at the university after the death of al-Nahhas. 'Abd-al-Nasir said, "What can we do? We teach students one thing at school, but they are told something else at home."

[Question] Don't you think this phenomenon is almost uniquely Egyptian?

[Answer] I believe it is. The party's comeback after a 30-year absence indicates that the Egyptian people are both good and loyal. If the Egyptian people were not inherently good, they would not have remembered the positions of the Wafd Party. No party in the world has had such a powerful comeback after being through what the Wafd Party went through. The party was out of the picture for 30 years; it was viciously attacked as no other party was ever attacked; and it was denied the opportunity to defend itself. The Wafd Party's powerful comeback is miraculous. Consider the Conference Party in India; there are no doubts about its popularity. But I do not believe that that party could have such a powerful comeback with such popular support were it to stay out of the political picture for 30 years and then consider returning to the picture.

[Question] I read something that one of our writers wrote. He said that the affection people have for the Wafd Party may be compared to the levels of passion in Sufism.

[Answer] That is a very nice thing to say. The voice of the people is divinely

inspired. People feel that the Wafd expresses their concerns, and they feel they can turn to it. Those who were living when the Wafd party was around know that the only freedom they had was when it was in office. Citizens went to bed at night confident that they will not be arrested and that no one will come at dawn knocking on their doors. I will give you an example that will give you a sense of the fact that the Wafd has always had its hand on the people's pulse. One of the unforgettable incidents of my life was one that occurred on the day the 1936 treaty was abrogated. I saw the crowds that had gathered at all the railway stations between Alexandria and Cairo to greet Mustafa al-Nahhas during his return to Cairo to submit to parliament bills abrogating the treaty. These bills were in al-Nahhas's briefcase. But the crowds would suddenly break into one cheer, which was the same at every station: "Nahhas, abrogate the treaty!" No news about the bills had been made public at all; everything had been kept hush-hush for political considerations. Everyone, even members of parliament, was stunned by that because the masses would usually break into their usual cheers of long live al-Nahhas. We looked at each other in bewilderment, and our faith in the fact that the voice of the people was divinely inspired indeed grew.

#### A Superficial Parliamentary Life

[Question] News and articles in the opposition press, particularly in AL-WAFD, show that parliamentary life has severe shortcomings. These articles show that government representatives are always eager to support the ruling party even though hearings are held on some serious matters such as the nuclear reactors program. In addition, these articles allege that those representatives have not raised the subject of torture at all. What do you think about that?

[Answer] Parliamentary life in its present form is almost a formality. I almost regret saying that it would have been better for the government to save the millions of pounds it spends at these assembly meetings and put the money to use elsewhere. Members of the government's party do nothing but agree with the government on everything. When I served in the senate, I used to speak on one subject for an entire meeting or two until I exhausted the subject and had it fully investigated. But the method [of discussion] that is currently being used is truly curious. In most cases an assembly member is given the floor no more than a few minutes. How can the state's budget and committee reports be discussed in a few minutes? Now, when assembly members come to an assembly meeting, they find at their seats an agenda of the subjects they will be discussing at that meeting. Such a discussion is almost a formality. Some of the subjects on the agenda have to do with discussing agreements for millions of pounds. The agenda of a meeting should reach members before a meeting, allowing sufficient time for members to get ready for the discussion.

If one were to add to that the fact that the principle of ministerial responsibility in its true sense is missing, [one would realize] that if the People's Assembly were to vote no-confidence in the cabinet, the assembly itself would be dissolved in accordance with the constitution. It is this that makes members reluctant to vote no confidence in the cabinet. There is another matter: Is there a parliamentary body in any democratic regime that does not have the right to amend any item in the budget? Parliamentary life was basically created, first, to watch over the state budget and to oversee how taxes are spent.

Parliament's function is not merely to make suggestions about what is hoped for. A government may adopt or decline to adopt these suggestions, as is the case with us. Let me say unequivocally that if parliament does not have the right to amend the budget, parliamentary life loses one of the most important reasons for its existence. Is it conceivable that people's rights, represented in their representatives, would be diminished compared to what they were 60 years ago? We are supposed to be moving forward not going backward!

[Question] How is that?

[Answer] In 1924 members of parliament had all these powers. In the past parliamentary life gave members of parliament a full sense of doing their duty toward the people who elected them. When I assumed the responsibility of the Wafd's opposition in the senate, I used to feel that I had a major mission and that I was actually taking part in government. Assembly members who were supporters of the government that was in power at the time would listen to what we had to say. I was able to win many battles with the government when I succeeded in winning over many of its supporters when the time came to vote over an issue. Supporters of the government in the senate would have no qualms about letting their government down and supporting the opposition for the public good. In addition, the press had a role to play. Newspapers would publish a full account of what was said at the meeting on the following day. Egypt was at the height of its parliamentary glory 60 years ago. It was like all of the world's democracies. Let present assembly members examine the minutes of those meetings and the positions of their predecessors, the representatives of the people.

#### Student Demonstrations

[Question] What do you think about the phenomenon of student demonstrations? These demonstrations have been recurring recently under different slogans. Do you think they are positive or negative?

[Answer] There is no doubt that Egypt's interests are served when its students enjoy their vitality and their normal activity. Egypt's interests are served when students have a sense of belonging to their country and are interested in its issues. This spirit has been alive since 1919, but it disappeared after 1952. Thus, young people lost the sense of belonging even though recent demonstrations were caused by some special incidents or academic demands. What the country lacks now is the interest that young people should have in the country's issues and public events. I was pleased to notice that the recent demonstrations you referred to were not violent and not destructive. Expressing one's opinion is one thing, but violence and destruction are another.

#### The Wafd Stands beside Students

[Question] What are the positions that the Wafd is actually taking to restore among university students a sense of belonging and an ability to say what is on their minds?

[Answer] To answer this question we may have to go back to the past and recall how students used to express themselves and speak about their issues with total freedom. We may have to remember what the associations of their colleges and

universities were like. Let me give you an example of that. I used to publish a newsletter or a students' magazine that was called, RISALAH RIYADIYAH, [Sports Newsletter]. This was a biweekly publication that I and my fellow students published together. This newsletter was successful, and professors and students used to wait eagerly for it to come out. I would analyze the character of one of the professors in a taunting but decent manner. I recall once analyzing the character of the dean of the college, the late Kamil Mursi Pasha. I depicted the dean as a slithering snake and put the dean's picture on top of the snake's body to convey the idea that he was soft to the touch but very harmful.

I was summoned to the dean's office. When I walked into the office, the newsletter was lying open in front of the dean, and he was looking at it in his usual calm manner. He told me, "I will ask you a question which you may answer; you may also reserve your right as a journalist not to mention your source. Who wrote this article?" I said, "I did." And he said, "I was sure that you would tell me the truth. I would encourage you to write, especially since you write in a pleasant style. I summoned you here to explain to you the facts and those matters that I oversee because I want my students to know who I really am." Then he started talking about matters and explaining them in detail, and he told me, "It's up to you whether or not you correct the information." I did print the correct facts in the following issue, and the dean took no action despite the harshness of what I had published because he respected my right to have an opinion. I don't know if university students now, 50 years later, have an opportunity to publish such a magazine.

I also wonder about the situation at the associations in the university. I used to be a member of a university association. Students used to feel they were partners with the administration of the college in matters that had to do with students' affairs. That taught us and gave us training in how to assume responsibility.

[Question] What about the present?

[Answer] The bylaws of the Federation of University Colleges are backward. This is what made us demand in the Wafd Party's platform that these bylaws, which were issued in 1979, be repealed. We demanded the restoration of the 1976 bylaws which are more democratic and more consistent with university traditions. The Wafd Party also adopts the notion of giving students the freedom to speak and removing any restrictions on them regarding publishing their newspapers or magazines and holding symposiums and conferences. The functions of the university guard and security offices are to be limited to that of safeguarding the university's buildings.

Millionaires

[Question] We don't have accurate statistics about class, but it has been noticed that while most people suffer to make ends meet, a large class of millionaires has emerged, and these millionaires have accumulated a lot of money. What does the Wafd Party think about dealing with this social injustice?

[Answer] A person cannot by honest means make a fortune worth millions of pounds in the limited periods of time that we hear about. That is not possible

at all. This has happened because of the absence of controls. A few officials gave their subordinates and their relatives an opportunity to deviate and steal the people's funds. Anyone who was trying to enrich himself at the people's expense was allowed to do so, and that caused corruption to spread in such a tangible manner. In 1951 the government of the Wafd party issued the Illegal Gain Law; this is the law that asks people about the source of their fortunes. For reasons that are not unknown to people, that law has not yet been enforced as effectively as it should have been. Furthermore, the government agency that is charged with enforcing this law is totally incapable of enforcing it because of its limitations and the scarcity of its resources.

[Question] What does the Wafd Party think of the subsidy question which directly affects the interests of the broad masses?

[Answer] The subsidy question is the object of an exhaustive and comprehensive study that is being conducted by the party's Economic Affairs Committee and Financial Affairs Committee, two of the party's specialized committees. These joint committees have met several times, and they are continuing to meet. They are expected to complete their job soon even though we have not yet received the official data we did request from the government. I hope I will get this data soon.

[Question] What about the continuing tide of price increases? What role can the Wafd Party play to guard against this danger?

[Answer] We have to determine who is calling for the Wafd Party to play such a role. The Wafd Party does not have real power to take measures in this regard. The Wafd party is not in power; it is in the opposition. How can I fight high prices or do anything about any problem other than provide instruction and guidance? This is the function and mission of every opposition party. Representatives of the Wafd Party have not failed to provide such instruction, nor have they failed to present the opinions and proposals of the Wafd on all these matters.

#### The Incidents at Kafr al-Dawwar

[Question] It is being said that the Wafd and its newspaper were not very sympathetic with the workers in the labor incidents at Kafr al-Dawwar. What do you have to say about that?

[Answer] AL-WAFD Newspaper provided full coverage of the incidents at Kafr al-Dawwar. But there is a rule that we adhere to. That rule is to avoid sensationalism in what we publish. We were most certainly interested in the workers' issue, and the newspaper reported news of their sit-in and the reasons for it. The newspaper reported on the clash that occurred between the workers and security forces, and it reported on the injuries that many people suffered as a result of these clashes. But it is not in the public interest nor in the interests of the workers themselves to resort to sensationalism and agitation. We are waiting for the results of the prosecution's investigations. Afterwards, we will determine our position on these incidents. Furthermore, a few attorneys who are members of the Wafd Party volunteered to be present when the workers who had been arrested were being questioned; they also volunteered to defend them.

[Text] "The strength of the Wafd Party lies in its popularity. Our party refuses financial support from the government and relies on contributions from its members."

"We support economic freedom, and we reject the absence of economic controls as well as economic recession."

"Any person who has his own opinions may join the party provided he abide by the party's program and decisions."

"Economic revival can only be achieved in a climate of democracy, confidence and assurance."

"It was very hard for me to give the police in Ismailiah the order to reject the British ultimatum and resist British forces to the end."

Is it true that the Wafd Party was not responsive to social demands before the revolution?

The second part of the interview with Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din raises numerous political, economic and intellectual questions. How is the Wafd Party funded? Why does the party insist on turning down support from the government? What are the Wafd Party's suggestions for getting the country out of its stifling economic crisis? What are the reasons for the current cultural and intellectual crisis? How important is democracy to the revival of thought and art?

Mr Siraj-al-Din answered a few questions about the Wafd's positions: those that had to do with the party's past, present or future positions. He talked about how responsive the Wafd was to the social demands of the toiling masses, and he answered a question about why, when he was minister of the interior, he issued orders to the police in Ismailiah not to surrender to the British forces and to fight till the end.

Is it true that there is no major difference between the program of the ruling National Party and that of the Wafd Party?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said that people have confidence in the Wafd Party and that many of them are members of the party. He said that the popularity of the Wafd is such that the party is popular among all the citizens of Egypt. The text of the interview follows.

[Question] Many people were concerned when the country was subjected to sectarian civil strife during Anwar al-Sadat's term in office. How does that relate to the legacy of the 1919 Revolution, and what do you think of what happened?

Mr Siraj-al-Din replied with dismay, "Who said there was sectarian civil strife? There were ordinary incidents that passed, and these were cheaply utilized by government to justify taking repressive and terrorist measures, arresting people and enacting emergency laws. The fact is that there was no sectarian civil

strife. National unity is too strong to be affected by the conduct of any individual. Every Egyptian firmly believes in national unity; it is one of the products of the 1919 Revolution. At that time Ghandi stated that Sa'd Zaghlul had succeeded in accomplishing what he, Ghandi, had failed to do in India.

#### Rejecting Government Support

[Question] Why does the Wafd Party refuse to accept any support from the government? Is the Wafd Party the only opposition party that has assumed this position?

[Answer] I believe that the Wafd party is the only party to assume that position. The party will not accept such support. It depends on itself and on its members and supporters. I personally think that government support for parties must not come in the form of grants that would be awarded or denied to any party the government chooses. This matter must be regulated by laws that would require government to provide this support. Such laws would indicate the limits of that support, as is the case now in many democracies such as Germany, where there is a law regulating such state assistance to political parties. Such assistance is rendered in recognition of the mission that is performed by political parties. That is the only condition under which such assistance would be rendered. If such a law were to be enacted, the Wafd Party would not refuse to benefit from its provisions.

#### Social Gains under the Wafd and the Revolution Compared

[Question] There are those who think that if the Wafd Party had been more responsive to the public's social and socialist demands before the Revolution, the Revolution could have been avoided. This means that if the leftist wing of the Wafd party had been allowed to come to the fore, the party would have been able to escape the fate that it had to face in 1952.

The leader of the Wafd Party frowned somewhat and then said, "The 1952 Revolution did not break out for economic or social reasons at all. That revolution basically broke out for political reasons which had to do with the royal regime, its corruption and the poor choice that was made of army commanders. Furthermore, the Wafd did not have a leftist wing in that sense of the term. The Wafd was tolerant enough of all wings including the left. But I think that the term, leftist wing, is an overstatement of the case. On the other hand, when the Wafd was in power, it devoted all its attention to the popular and working classes. For example, the Wafd Party issued a law that established labor unions. It issued a law [regulating] personal work contracts, and it enacted a workman's compensation law and a social security law. The Wafd Party also issued a law exempting owners of small lots of land from paying taxes on agricultural land. The Wafd also brought about free education in elementary, secondary, middle and technical schools. It made significant strides in expanding free education in the university. If the popular gains that were made in both administrations are measured and compared, the Wafd party will come out on top. Which is better: that the government set up unions for workers to defend their interests or that the government appoint two or three workers to serve on a board of directors?

Have you seen a greater contradiction in terms than that of the minister of labor serving also as the president of the General Federation of Workers? How can the interests of workers be realized in such a situation?

[Question] Do you think that any leftist, Marxist or Nasirist is entitled to join the new Wafd Party?

[Answer] Everyone has the right to join the party. The Wafd Party is a coalition of people where anyone with an opinion can find an opportunity to express that opinion with total freedom, provided that he believe in the principles of the party and abide by its programs and resolutions.

[Question] Don't you think that the term, total economic freedom, contradicts [the notion of] planning?

[Answer] Why? What is meant here is economic freedom not the absence of economic controls. What is required are incentives to individuals so they would invest their funds in productive not consumer projects, so they would invest without fear of confiscation and nationalization.

[Question] The Revolution tried to encourage the private sector to undertake the task of industrialization, but the private sector did not respond.

[Answer] There is considerable exaggeration in that opinion. The fact is that the Revolution built the public sector on the ruins of the private sector. No one should find it strange that the private sector is not cooperating with the Revolution. The public sector fears confiscations, sequestration, trials and the nationalizations that were being carried out from the very first moment. Economic progress can grow only in a climate of democracy, confidence and assurance. This does not mean that we are against the public sector. We consider the public sector one of the principal foundations of our national economy, but as we said earlier, we want the public sector to concentrate on the sources of production, on public utilities and on the major industries that individuals cannot undertake. Officials must also be held accountable for the tremendous losses that many of these factories and major companies incurred and for which there is no reasonable justification.

#### The Wafd and Resisting the Occupation

[Question] One of the reasons why you were criticized by the Revolutionary Court and in other written documents may have been the fact that when you were minister of the interior, you were accused of issuing orders to soldiers in the regime's military not to surrender to British forces, even though the forces of the Egyptian police and those of the British army were not equal.

[Answer] Those who like to falsify facts don't care about making conflicting accusations against the Wafd. This reminds me of one of the most critical moments of my life. It was on the evening of 25 January 1952 when I issued orders to the police force in Ismailiah not to yield to the British ultimatum and to fight a battle against the British forces. These forces had surrounded the Egyptian forces' barracks. I told them to fight to the very end. It was a very hard moment for me. I knew that the two forces were not equal, and I knew

that I was subjecting young people to death and injury, but I had no other choice. Do I tell them to surrender? Such surrender would destroy morale in the cities that are located on the canal, and it would have a devastating effect on the guerilla movement in the Suez Canal area. I wept after issuing the orders to resist to the Egyptian officer, and tears streamed down my face uncontrollably. I had no choice. It was a fierce struggle between my duty and my feelings.

The Egyptian force carried out the orders with great courage, and they continued to fire until they fired their last shot.

That battle had to be fought because it was part of the guerilla warfare that a number of university students, free officers and Muslim Brothers had joined in. A rather sizable number of police officers and soldiers in civilian clothing had also joined in that battle. On the surface the battle was a people's battle, but we were supplying the fighters with weapons and ammunition. If we had not fought such battles, how could we have purged our land from the occupation? Our country had been occupied for 70 years. Had we surrendered to the occupation, we would have been charged with treason.

The purpose of the battle was to make the British feel that it was useless to stay on the base without Egypt's consent. That purpose was accomplished, and it almost yielded the results that had been hoped for, had it not been for the Cairo fire on 26 January 1952 and the ouster of the Wafd government from power because of the fire. As a result of that the battle came to a complete standstill.

[Question] Because of its liberal character the Wafd has always played a part in cultural progress. The various factions of the party have always encouraged thought. What are your expectations from the party now in that regard?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the Wafd is a liberal party that believes in freedom of thought and economic liberalization. This is precisely what its role is, and the party's program was written on that basis. Freedom of thought is an expression or manifestation of democracy. It is my opinion that any economic or social reform in this country will have to be made in a democracy. If you were to compare political, intellectual and cultural progress before and after 1952, such a comparison would make things extremely clear. Where are the major writers, the great poets, the scientists, the artists and the athletes? Egypt has not become barren, but no one can shine in those areas unless there is democracy. Most of the major personalities who are still producing literary and intellectual work are the product of pre-revolutionary years. The artistic and literary talents that emerged after the Revolution are limited. There is almost a consensus that we have a cultural crisis. If you were to compare intellectual and artistic progress in democracies with such progress in non-democratic countries, the difference would be sizable and perceptible.

Is there Similarity between the National Party and the Wafd Party?

[Question] There is an opinion which claims that except for democracy, there is no difference to speak of between the National Party and the program of the Wafd Party, especially from a social standpoint.

[Answer] A person who makes such a statement has not read our program. If he were to examine the program, he would find scores of points that distinguish the Wafd Party socially and politically. Ours is a full and comprehensive program. Also the law of parties stipulates that a new party have a program that differs from the programs of existing parties. This is what the committee on parties verified when the Wafd Party filed its application. If our program were the same as that of the National Party (formerly the Misr Party), the committee would not have approved the Wafd Party's application.

#### The Wafd and the Socialist Union

[Question] Based on the fact that the Wafd and the Socialist Union have numerous classes and groups, is there any similarity between the two organizations?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din did not like the question and said, "There is absolutely no comparison between the two. The Socialist Union is an absolute and totalitarian system that has nothing to do with freedom and respect for democracy. It was established by one individual's decree, and it was brought to an end by another decree. The Wafd Party, however, represents the spontaneous wishes of the nation. It is the nation that established the Wafd and not a ruler's decree. There is absolutely no comparison at all between the two.

#### Soviet Weapons

[Question] How would you evaluate the Soviet Union's role in the process of industrializing and arming Egypt?

[Answer] I was not involved in that experience. It is those governments that dealt with the Soviets on those matters that can make such an evaluation. However, if what we read in newspapers reflects what has happened in that regard, then this experience has gone through several stages of giving assistance and withholding it. The Soviet Union's role in that process was subject to political conditions and considerations.

The Wafd Party would not refuse any assistance from any country in this regard, provided that the assistance be true, that it be in the interests of Egypt and that no conditions or restrictions be attached to it that might infringe on our total and absolute sovereignty in the process of making political or economic decisions.

#### The Young and the Old

[Question] It is being said that the Wafd Party is suffering because it does not have enough young people in its membership.

[Answer] Young people are a formidable and tremendous force in the Wafd. This is one of the miracles of this nation. In fact, I will make an observation that may actually astonish you. During the funeral of al-Nahhas, and it was a large popular funeral, we, the older people were walking silently and sorrowfully, but those who were weeping and wailing and screaming were the young people. They were also the vast majority of the mourners.

[Question] Would you allow me to reciprocate and tell you an equally strange observation?

He smiled and asked, "What is that?"

[Question] Haven't you noticed that it is almost a characteristic of the Wafd party that the older its leaders are, the greater and the more unexpected their political roles become? This is true of Sa'd Zaghlul, of Mustafa al-Nahas and of Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din as well.

[Answer] There can be no comparison between Sa'd Zaghlul and Mustafa al-Nahas and me. What am I compared to these two great leaders? As far as I myself am concerned, the source of that ability that you talked about is the party's reliance on the people and the people's confidence in the party. I have confidence in the party's mission. I believe that this too applies to Sa'd Zaghlul and to Mustafa al-Nahas.

[Question] How many members are there in the Wafd Party?

[Answer] 46 million.

A Reminder to Musa Sabri

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din commented on an article written by Musa Sabri entitled, "'Indama Yansa al-Basha," [When the Pasha Forgets]. He said, "Musa Sabri argues that current parliamentary life is sound. He mentions that the government is facing four hearings in the assembly that are being held by the opposition. He spoke about the hearings on nuclear power. Why doesn't he tell us what transpired in the three other hearings? Why doesn't he tell us how the assembly's bylaws were totally violated with regard to those hearings? Why doesn't he tell us how Representative Ahmad Taha was prevented from commenting on the reply of the minister who was being questioned?"

"A reply will be made regarding what was mentioned about questioning Mr Mustafa Mar'i about the impaired weapons. A full account of the hearings will soon be printed in AL-WAFD Newspaper. Mr Sabri talked about the detention camps that existed during the days of the Wafd party and the fact that he himself was detained. Musa Sabri has forgotten that these arrests--the few that took place--were made during World War II. He forgot that those who were arrested were allowed to stay in the homes of free people, and they were permitted to enjoy the freedom of having visitors. They were not held in prison cells that were kept locked 23 hours a day.

"Was Musa Sabri treated like that? Can he now--now that he is in power--come up with an official statement about the number of those who are now being detained? Has that number reached the thousands, as was the case in those administrations which received his blessings?"

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EGYPT

CONSTRUCTION OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON VIOLATIONS

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 26 Dec 84 p 3

[Interview with Engineer Fu'ad al-'Ashri, vice president of the Residential Communities Authority, by Muhammad 'Arafah: "Engineer Fu'ad al-'Ashri Talks about Land on the Northern Coast; 'The Heyday of Land Pirates Has Come to an End; Bulldozers Provide the Only Means for Removing Violations'"; in Cairo; date of interview not specified]

[Text] The office is on the third floor of the Ministry of Reconstruction. Many men are coming and going, and all of them have new ideas. The place was full of large files, architectural drawings and promotional brochures. Despite the multiplicity and diversity of ideas from one man to another and from one file to another, the subject of all this was one and the same: cities and new residential communities. It is Engineer Fu'ad al-'Ashri, vice president of new residential communities, who heads this team of architects who are also housing and reconstruction experts. We interviewed him over a 3-hour period during which we were interrupted when the telephone rang, when he was asked to review an urgent memo, and when he was asked to place his signature on new designs. [Despite these interruptions] he answered those questions that were raised a long time ago about land on the northern coast.

[Question] We were astonished to see paid advertisements in newspapers saying that the Reconstruction and Development Agency for the Northern Coast was warning citizens against selling or buying land on the northern coast even though there are similar advertisements urging upon people to buy this land. What is the true story behind this situation?

[Answer] Advertisements warning individuals or organizations against disposing of land on the northern coast are due to the fact that numerous complaints have been received at the authority and at the ministry about citizens being victimized by swindlers who led citizens to believe that they owned this land. Those swindlers then sold the land to those citizens at very low prices, and after they got the money they fled. The phenomenon of infringing upon state land and seizing it has become one of those salient phenomena in our daily lives these days. Along with this phenomenon, that of a group of professional land pirates has also emerged. Those thieves who have emerged everywhere have different methods for seizing the land, particularly new land. As soon as they get wind of the fact that the Ministry of Reconstruction intends to divide a certain area of

land into lots to put up the land in that area for sale, they rush to that area and put up signs there, Then they advertise those lots in newspapers and on television, and they offer citizens sham deeds to lead them to believe that they are the real owners of this land. To attract attention they sell the land at very low prices, and after a citizen pays his life's savings to buy this land, he discovers that "he's been had"--as they say. When he finds out that "he's been had," he comes to the Ministry of Reconstruction and files a complaint. We turn these complaints to the public prosecution which has begun investigating those people who seize state-owned land for a living. Lawsuits have been filed in court against those people, and these law suits are now pending.

It is for those plain people who dream of a better tomorrow that we put those advertisements in newspapers. We placed those ads so that land pirates and those who make a living at seizing the land of the state can be harshly punished. These ads were placed in newspapers to show everyone that one has to go to the Ministry of Reconstruction to purchase land that is put up for sale by the ministry or by construction societies.

#### The Bulldozer Is the Solution

[Question] That is regarding state-owned land as a whole. But what is the situation specifically regarding land on the northern coast of the country?

[Answer] The land on the northern coast is the area located on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea between Kilometer 32 west of Alexandria all the way to al-Sallum. The Agricultural Reconstruction and Development Authority was responsible for this area until 1980 when the Executive Agency for the Reconstruction and Development of the Northern Coast was established. When we assumed responsibility for this land, we drew extremely detailed maps of it. We took photographs of the area from the air, and these showed the level of everything in the area, even that of a single tree. These maps and pictures show the current situation before and after the violations.

Some of these land pirates thought that the distance to the northern coast would keep the truth about who owns this land from being found. So they tried to seize this land so they could divide it into lots and sell it to citizens. However, these violations were dealt with sternly. They were removed either by civil settlements [out of court] between the ministry and the perpetrators of such violations, or by bulldozers, and these have become our only means for rectifying the situation. We are telling those land pirates that their heyday is over. Any violations or illegal changes will be sternly dealt with. We will go after everyone who seizes land, and we will take him to justice. He will be charged and punished for his action and his crime against society.

#### No to Idle Societies

[Question] What became of the land on the northern coast that a few individuals and cooperative societies reserved and paid for? These individuals and societies are affiliated with firms and professional associations.

[Answer] There is no reason to have any fears about land that was reserved by individuals or land that was designated by the Board of Residential Communities

for professional associations or firms. Quite the contrary, we welcome everybody, and we hope to turn over all the new land to citizens. We dream about every individual in Egypt owning a piece of land. This is the basic objective for establishing the Ministry of Reconstruction.

Let's go back to the Construction Societies whose number has amounted to 108 societies and 7 housing firms. Land for the first phase [of development] has been designated for them. The Residential Communities Authority has completed extending all the basic utilities to this land. This is the area that is located between Kilometer 34 and Kilometer 100 west of Alexandria. But it is regrettable to mention this fact: among those societies only eight construction societies have completed and submitted all the architectural drawings for the proposed construction models. These have been approved by the ministry, and construction operations have actually begun. Besides, 32 other societies have submitted their drawings just these days.

Faced with such poor performance we made up our minds to take away land from these cooperative societies which have been reluctant to submit their architectural designs and begin building those models. We decided we would take away the land that had been designated to them. This land will revert to the ministry, and the ministry itself will undertake the task of setting up projects on this land. It will build cities and villages for tourists over this land, and it will put up the land for sale.

Farewell to Rosy Dreams!

[Question] What about the role of foreign investors and the rosy dreams that a few Egyptian investors had promoted as "trial balloons" to deceive people with an illusion of becoming wealthy quickly from this land?

[Answer] Since 1977 all eyes have been turning to this area which can become a natural outlet for the population. It is in that area that people can spend their summer vacations and holidays far away from the growing overcrowded conditions on the beaches of Alexandria and the rest of the usual summer resorts. Everybody looks forward to spending his summer vacation in Egypt in a place that is tranquil and quiet and offers unique natural beauty. People began reserving this land and paying 25 piasters per square meter for it. That nominal fee was attractive to all members of construction societies who wanted to reserve and purchase this land based on the fact that an individual would pay 200 or 300 pounds and own a piece of land which would just sit there until prices rise. These people hoped they would sell this land at a future date for fantastic prices that would make them wealthy quickly. Everyone was stunned by the fact that the Ministry of Reconstruction was serious about implementing an integrated plan for tourism to bring people to this area on that coast. Everybody was stunned by the fact that there were obligations for tourist and construction projects which individuals and societies had to abide by and implement.

In 1979 a few foreign adventurers and Egyptians residing abroad came into the picture. They contacted construction societies and individuals and led everyone to believe that they could finance these projects for tourism and provide each landowner with a house and an annual return of almost 1,000 dollars on his property. But when it was time to implement the plan, this turned out to be an

illusion, and the rosy dream was crushed. One investor after another fled. These days intense communications are being made between the Ministry of Reconstruction and some foreign construction and travel agencies that are serious firms with a good reputation. This is being done particularly since the basic utilities have been extended to Kilometer 108 west of Alexandria. It is now possible for those investors to set up their projects for tourists without having to become involved in extending those utilities. That was the primary and major obstacle that caused investors to think 1,000 times before going ahead with construction and carrying out their ideas for tourism. Costs have thus been reduced, and opportunities to make fantastic profits from funds invested in the northern shore of the country have increased. The ministry is making inquiries with the International Central Bank about the status of these companies before their names are given to construction societies and individuals who may contact them to determine how serious they are and to determine their ability to implement the projects for tourism. We are carrying out this obligation to protect Egyptian citizens from being victimized by the greed of foreigners.

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ISRAEL

SECURITY BREACHES WITHIN IDF INVESTIGATED

Tel Aviv BAMAHAANE in Hebrew No 7, 7 Nov 84 pp 50-51

[Article by David Gat: "Secrets in the Garbage. Two Reserve Soldiers are Carrying Out an Almost Personal Battle Against the Phenomenon of Throwing Classified IDF Documents into the Garbage at IDF Bases"]

[Text] A large provisional storage heap of garbage, piled at the edge of an IDF base recently received unusual treatment: two men, in clean, ironed IDF uniforms, stood in the garbage wagon, rolled up their sleeves and began fishing through the piles of stinking filth with their hands. Every piece of crumpled paper, and every remainder of a document rolled into a shrunken ball was examined by them with the greatest of attention. Finally the two curious men gathered a sizeable quantity of papers from the overflowing garbage container. Their booty was a large package of classified documents which had been tossed casually into the garbage containers without first being destroyed.

The two industrious probers were members of the investigating team of the Department of Field Security, which was active in the area for about 2 weeks. The phenomenon was so serious that the two team members decided to hold an educational lecture at the base in an attempt to halt the phenomenon immediately. Five days after the discovery of the documents, about a half hour before the lecture, the two members of the investigating team decided to make another round of the garbage wagons of the base. At the top of the pile, amidst other fresh documents, to their amazement the two found the letter of response of the base headquarters to the investigation held 5 days previously, including details of "immediate steps being taken to stop the phenomenon."

An Additional Secret

"This was the absolute height of heights" was the reaction of the two Reserve members of the investigating team. "We received the response to our review, prior to its being mailed, in the garbage."

The contents of this particular letter were not perhaps the most important discovery the two made ("If only everything we found was of this sort....") but this discovery certainly typified this phenomenon which is one of the worst in the entire military system, and a non-disappointing source of information for the enemy's intelligence.

Many in the IDF raise their brows in amazement when they see two mature soldiers, wearing ranks of Master Sergeant and Rav Samal, fishing with their hands through piles of garbage.

Master Sergeant Dani Barzilay, insurance and commerce man and member of the Board of Directors of the Bank of Israel, has an answer for all the amazed: "Experience shows that every document which we manage to prevent from going out among the masses (in public) via the garbage which leaves the base is an additional secret whose leakage we have managed to prevent. We see a positive need for this activity of ours, and although the distance between holiness and garbage is great, both of us view this as holy work."

Dani Barzilay has been dealing with this matter for many years in the framework of his reserve service in Intelligence. His mate, Gabi Baron, joined him about 2 years ago, after managing a "long drawn out war" with those careless of documents in the framework of his employment as a newspaperman. In fact, both of the men volunteered to work in attempting to half the phenomenon of throwing documents into the garbage, out of consciousness that it is a necessity to stop this phenomenon which without a doubt hurts the security of the State.

Now, having not left behind them even one garbage wagon or one garbage dump which did not enjoy a visit from them, they continue frequently to visit sites that were revealed to be problematic in particular, by suddenly dropping in here and there outside of the framework of their regular reserve service.

"First of all we should state that there are some units in the IDF in which the situation was good from the start, and there are others which improved recognizably after we "sat" on them a little. But the phenomenon continues to be worrisome. The officers should not dare tell us that they do not have means of destroying their paperwork. It is enough to dig a trench in a field and to ignite the paperwork there. It is true that an efficient incinerator is a comfortable installation. But until every soldier learns that incinerators are designed only for papers and not for softdrink cans, bottles, watermelon peels, and cartons of sour milk, the incinerators will continue to become clogged, and it will not be comfortable to see them."

It turns out that not only the incinerator, but also the electric shredder which shreds every paper into "noodles" is not a wonder medicine. The trouble starts in the office or living quarters with lack of discipline in carrying out standing orders. In the majority of IDF offices the officers proudly display two separate waste cans, one for papers and the other for garbage. Without exception, in both of them can be found both papers and garbage.

In one of the offices, it turns out, they did even better. In the base garbage wagon, that which the garbage contractor removes to a regional garbage dump swarming with people who pick through garbage, Dani and Gabi discovered a "tower" of styrofoam cups, the product of a staff meeting. What was said in that staff meeting they also discovered, written on a piece of paper rolled up into a ball and tucked into one of the paper cups. All this just because one participant in the meeting was thoughtless.

## Not Enough

In another incident, the only of its sort to date, at the edge of a road, in a "wild" garbage dump a transparent bag was found, decorated with pictures of flowers, on which in giant letters was written: "Material for Burning". Had this bag and its contents fallen into the hands of the enemy it would have cost the nation many casualties.

Not all of the activities of the team (which already has been dubbed "the Odd Couple") involves such curiosities. Of course documents labeled "Secret" and "Top Secret" are what they especially look for, but the continuing damage due to the tossing of hundreds and thousands of documents classified "restricted" and "classified" is no less serious. Every military document given some classification contains specific information of some sort. When a unit regularly throws dozens of restricted documents into the garbage, it is possible to reveal from them information whose value for the enemy is not much less than the value of the information in the single document.

During the 2 weeks during which Dani and Gabi combed the region, they succeeded in gathering many hundreds of documents each day. Every morning they went off to "work" clean and polished ("In order to keep up our morale. On the way, when the smells get to us, we take a "whore's bath" with after-shave"). Upon their return each evening, they unloaded cartons overflowing with documents that they collected during the day. An analysis of the contents would reveal that in every case the units revealed information on their officers and their soldiers, methods of practice, logistic set up of units, details on level of state of alertness, stores of ammunition and weapons, and many other details more serious than those here listed.

And when the two came to the commander of a certain unit, in which a particularly large number of documents was found in its garbage, in order to warn of the seriousness of the phenomenon, they were met with this reaction by the officer's secretary: "What? Restricted documents cannot be tossed into the wastebasket? It is only restricted...."

How can this phenomenon be destroyed? Dani and Gabi do what they can, in isolating the incidents, in lectures and in an improvised system of explanation which they carry out in units in which the phenomenon seems particularly severe or which deal with particularly sensitive material.

"But this is not enough," say the two reservists with the same seriousness with which they pick through remainders of food and rolls of toilet paper and hygienic bandages. "This is principally an educational problem which must be solved by enforcement of the present already existing orders, a system of explanation, and a system of punishment. We do our part as thoroughly as we know how to, because this is what we have chosen to do. Our activity is perhaps the most filthy possible, and we would not expect from people in the regular army to do what we do with the same dedication. Go try to convince a 20 year old soldier that he is likely to save his own life in the next war if he will crawl into a garbage container and pull out a wet stinking piece of paper filled with an apple core and sunflower seed shells."

But, they say, there are many things that can be done. First and foremost, every paper, every note, every sketch, must be thoroughly destroyed. In retrospect this is the simplest thing in the world to do. In fact it demands of every officer a little more attention paid to every day customs, to the work routine, and principally to the value of the written word.

#### Possible Damage

Dani and Gabi, who on occasion are shocked by what they find, exploit the lectures which they give to demonstrate to the soldiers the value of the written word in an original way, perhaps a bit despicable: Along with the fresh documents which they present in the lecture, they read the audience paragraphs from personal letters of the soldiers, which also often make their way into the garbage dumps. The embarrassment and outrage at the revealing of private secrets in public are a good tool with which to demonstrate the significance of a secret and the means of its uncovering.

Punishment is not an end of itself in the system of activities of this investigating team, but it is the nature of things that it is a by-product: "Recently there has been quick sentencing in matters of document offences," says Gabi with not-a-little pride on his part--together with his mater Dani--in making the need for quick reaction to such offences penetrate, "but there must be proportion to the punishment. It is the IDF's opinion that the findings are serious and the offences are serious, then the degree of punishment must also express this. If we are to take, for example, the judgment against seven officers in the command in which the operation was carried out, as a result of our last review, the greatest punishment given an officer (whose rank was Lt colonel) was a fine of 10,000 Israeli shekels. There were other fines of 2,000 and 3,000 shekels. At the same time many soldiers in the units themselves were judged. The punishments there were relatively stiffer. We expect that orders in this matter will be carried out as stated, with responsibility falling first on the officer, as it is written in the orders of the general staff. We should not be seeing again and again this phenomenon and repeated expression of: 'the stupid secretary, I told her, boy is she going to get it....'"

It is said that the untelligence of the enemy uses even our newspapers, and perhaps even will use this article for its needs. Dani and Gabi smile: "On the activity of the enemy in the garbage pits, it is well known. Now they will know that now both of us are active. This is not damage, and we hope that the benefits gained by IDF soldiers reading this article will be greater than any possible damage."

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ISRAEL

BUSINESSES, RESIDENTS PRESSURED BY EXTREMIST RELIGIOUS GROUPS

Tel Aviv KOTERET RASHIT in Hebrew No 106, 12 Dec 84, pp 29-31

[Article by Ariya Dayan: "Religious Violence; The Turkish Bath Is Burning Hot Extremists Around It"]

[Text] North-West Jerusalem is quickly becoming populated by extremist religious inhabitants. They are pushing out the few secularists who remained there. Sometimes requests and hints are enough. When this does not help, the pressures are stronger--from threats to fires. Tomorrow this can happen in the center of Tel Aviv or on the Carmel. Now a commission against extremist violence is forming.

Every morning Aharon Khovashy leaves his home in Ramat Eshkol in Jerusalem and travels to his clothing store. This is situated in the Be'ula neighborhood in the heart of the extremely orthodox section of town. When he arrives there Khovashy takes his first precautionary measures: He parks the car at a distance of a few hundred meters from the store, every day on a different street. In order to open the small store, he requires a heavy set of keys; the entrance is fixed with no less than three locks. Afterwards he will disconnect the alarm connected directly with his home. Before he sits by his cash register he will have to open the heavy iron shutters which he has installed on the display window to protect the windows.

Most of the days of the week, not even one client enters Khovashy's store. Some days one client enters, sometimes two. The reasons for the business slump is not connected with the recession or with the economic situation of the inhabitants of the neighborhood. They avoid entering the store because the Religious Court of the extreme orthodox sect has declared a boycott of him. This is also the reason that caused Khovashy to take all the precautionary measures he took. During the last 18 months there were three attempts to set the store on fire. The first succeeded and the store was totally burned.

After that he installed the alarm and the iron shutters. Prior to installation of the shutters the windows had been smashed a few times. Khovashy's car also has been set afire three times. According to him, one of the times the car was set afire at 10:30 in the morning, on a side street of Malkhy Yisra'el Street, which is the main street of the orthodox Ge'ula neighborhood.

"I continue to open shop because of the principle," says Khovashy, 47 years old, wearing a knitted skullcap, native of the Bet Yisra'el neighborhood of Jerusalem; his family was traditional. He keeps the Sabbath and the laws of Kashrut to this day. In his childhood he was educated in a national religious school and was a member of the Bene Akiva youth movement. From a purely economic aspect, he would do well if he were to sell the store. He does not sell it, in his words, because he is not willing to surrender to terror. Recently he has received telephone threats on the life of his daughters; this new stage in the struggle has caused him and his wife, Margalit, to ponder a second time on what benefits their struggle against terror can bring. However, the Khovashy couple know that selling the store will not solve their problems with the extreme Orthodox sect. It is not the store that bothers them.

The boycott was placed on the clothing store in order to force Khovashy to sell another business which is in his possession: the Turkish bath. This is a large bath house in which there are heated pools and saunas; it also is located in the extremist neighborhood. The Religious Court claims that homosexual activities are occurring within the walls of the bath house. To prove their claim, representatives of the head of the Religious Court showed Khovashy a homosexual tour guidebook published a few years ago in the United States. The name and address of the bath appeared in a list of recommended entertainment spots for homosexual tourists visiting Israel. "Khovashy asked the Sephardic Chief Rabbi, Rabbi Mordechai Eliahu, to appoint an inspector to supervise activities at the bath; the rabbi complied with the request. This is not enough for the extreme orthodox sect's Religious Court; it does not recognize the authority of the Chief Rabbinate of Israel. Khovashy suggested that the extreme orthodox Religious Court also appoint an inspector. The Court refused. Khovashy feels that the true intention of the Religious Court is to get him out of the structure in order to close the bath and transfer the building to some extreme orthodox institution. Khovashy: "The bath they cannot set on fire. I have 14 watchdogs there, big ones; the Orthodox, as is known, are afraid of dogs. They discovered that I also have a store and they are pressuring me at the store so that I will give into them at the bath."

Aharon and Margalit Khovashy are amongst the founders of a new public group established last week in Jerusalem: the Commission Against Extremist Violence. This body will try, in Khovashy's words, to draft into activity victims of extreme orthodox violence in cooperation with all those who wish to fight the phenomenon. Khovashy claims that he knows of at least 10 other incidents similar to his incident. The common denominator in all of these is their not being extreme orthodox--but rather secularists or non-extremist traditionalists--who live or operate businesses in areas which in recent years have decreased in non-extremist inhabitants. They have an additional common denominator: nearly all of them are Oriental Jews. A few of them, says Khovashy, agreed to join the new commission. Others refused; they also refused to be interviewed. Khovashy says that they are frightened.

David Tabib and Yahezkel Siman-Tov are two of the people who refused to join the new commission. Both of them have businesses on Ma'khy Yasra'el Street. Siman-Tov has a grocery; Tabib--a small book shop. Up until a few months ago it was possible to buy secular newspapers in both the stores. Messengers from the extreme orthodox Religious Court informed the two shop owners that they must stop selling secular newspapers. Tabib and Siman-Tov refused to adhere to the order. Tabib changed his mind after a short time, when he discovered that the four tires of his car had been slashed. Siman-Tov still remains insubordinate; three times in the last month his steps were anonymously smeared with tar.

A researcher in the Department of Criminology of the Hebrew University has collected data on 55 cases of villainy by extremists against the non-extremist population living in the northwest neighborhoods of Jerusalem, all of which occurred over the last 2 years. The researcher asked to remain anonymous; a portion of the materials for his research are gathered in personal interviews with the victims of extremist violence. He fears that future victims will refuse to cooperate if they know that their words are liable to reach the media. He refuses to reveal the contents of the interviews he held.

A most obvious demographic change has occurred over the past few years in the older sections of northwest Jerusalem. The non-extremist residents are leaving and their places are quickly being filled by extremist orthodox residents or institutions. The natural high birth rate of the extremist orthodox population, the centralization of the extremist educational institutions found in Jerusalem, and the drawing power of the city for extremist immigrants from abroad are the principal factors behind this demographic change. From a memo prepared for the mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek, and recently sent to Prime Minister Shimon Peres, it comes up that one of every five Jews living in the city is an extremist orthodox Jew. Jerusalem has 424,000 inhabitants; 304,000 are Jews and 120,000 are Arabs. About 20 percent of the Jews, or about 60,000 people are orthodox extremists.

"The injury to the non-extremist population in northwest Jerusalem is in great measure a side product of the population change occurring in this area," says the researcher from the Department of Criminology. "A passerby who is not extremist orthodox would have to perform some provocative act such as driving on the Sabbath or dressing immodestly for the extremists to hurt him. On the other hand when we are speaking of a non-extremist orthodox resident, there is no need for provocative behavior. The very fact that he lives in the neighborhood is perceived by them as a provocative action. By being there he is undermining the accepted norms in their society, he is liable to be a bad example for mimicking and he takes up space which in the eyes of the community is destined for an extremist orthodox family."

A sizeable portion of the injuries, says the researcher, are inflicted on single women who live in extremist orthodox neighborhoods. The single women is perceived by the extremist orthodox community as a most serious threat to the wholeness of the community. She is related to as to a potential whore. Zahava Dahan lived for 8 years in a one room apartment in the

Bet Yisra'el neighborhood. In September 1983 a Talmud Torah school was opened on the ground floor of her building. After a short time she began to hear hints from her neighbors, according to which it would be worth her while to leave the apartment and move to another neighborhood. One day in October 1983 she returned home from work and discovered that the entire apartment and all that was in it had been burned. A similar fate hit Rahel Motela, 28 years old, a year earlier, when she lived in a basement apartment in Zikron Moshe. Her apartment was set afire by her extremist orthodox neighbors when they returned from demonstrating at Sabbath Square against archeological digging at the City of David. Both women left the neighborhood.

There is no possibility of exactly assessing the number of non-extremist orthodox inhabitants still living in the orthodox neighborhoods of Jerusalem. It appears that we are speaking of a few hundred families. Perhaps 300, perhaps 500. The Gabay family was one of them. Since they immigrated from Iran in 1950 they have lived in a three room apartment on the top floor of an old building in the Bukharian neighborhood. Barukh Gabay, father of the family, is a religious non-extremist Jew who works as a clerk in the Ministry of the Treasury. He lives with his wife and three of his children in an apartment he acquired with key money. The rest of the residents of the building left their apartments over the last 7 years. The building was sold to an extremist orthodox Jew from the United States who is interested in remodeling it and selling the remodeled apartments to orthodox extremist families.

The Gabay family is one of the sole non-extremist orthodox families on this tightly populated street. This causes them no small number of difficulties. One of Gabay's sons, Yakov, lives with his wife in the Neve Yakov neighborhood. The father's neighbors know that on the Sabbath eve the son comes with his wife to visit his parents. They know that he comes in his car. More than once they have threatened to damage it. Yakov's sisters have also met more than once with hostile reactions from the new neighbors in the building due to their not dressing in extremist orthodox style.

"We are dealing with a few hundred families who live in constant fear," says the researcher. "The most ordinary actions, such as turning on the light in the stairwell, or watching television, becomes for them, on the Sabbath, a problem. I know of many cases in which the extremist orthodox removed laundry from the clotheslines of their non-extremist orthodox neighbors such as women's slacks or blouses which seemed immodest to them."

"The problem is being blown out of all proportion," says Me'ir Forush, son of Assistant Minister Menahem Forush and member of the Jerusalem City Council, representing the Agudat Israel party. "It is true that in several neighborhoods in Jerusalem arguments as to the nature of the neighborhood are going on, but unfortunately, violence is a part of our lives, in every respect. Ever since a few irresponsible extremist orthodox elements began throwing stones at cars on the Ramot Road a new mode was created--to label the entire extremist orthodox public with the label of violence. Of course it also is clear that if a secular family lives in an orthodox neighborhood, the neighbors have a right to ask that family to behave according to the norms of the neighborhood. This is legitimate and this is justified. When Menahem Savidor was speaker of the knesset he also asked the members to dress and behave as befits a parliament."

The members of the Commission against Violence do not yet know how they will work to promote their goals. Participating in the meeting to found the commission were people of totally different outlooks. David Bergman, former assistant mayor from the National Religious Party spoke there, along with attorney Uri Hoffert who in the past was one of the outspoken active members of the league against religious imposition.

Rivka Sena, television producer, is one of the initiators of the commission. She says she was shocked to discover the hatred growing in Jerusalem between some of its orthodox and secular inhabitants. She says that if action is not taken to prevent further disintegration of relations, secular groups are liable to begin mobilization to take violent means of reprisal. On the other hand it is Me'ir Forush's opinion that just the act of forming the new commission is liable to create a stir in the extremist orthodox street and to push extremists there to undesirable activities.

There is no guarantee that the Committee against Extremist Orthodox Violence will last long. The members are talking about establishing a fund for granting financial aid to victims, and about renting an office and establishing an emergency phone number for those who feel attacked by the extremist orthodox environment. However, the telephone and the office will not stop the actual change occurring in Jerusalem's demographic nature.

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ISRAEL

ARAB MK MAKES SECRET EFFORT TO ADDRESS PNC

Quixotic Odyssey

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[Article by Aaron Leibel]

[Text]

**I**t was an unrepentant Abdel Wahab Daroushe who this week returned from his quixotic two-day peace odyssey. The backbench, Arab Labor Knesset member made an abortive attempt to address the Palestine National Council, the Palestine Liberation Organization's "parliament in exile," in Amman. On his return, he told reporters his "conscience was clear" but his words did little to end the Knesset furore over his trip, or to diminish the embarrassment caused to his party.

Apparently without consulting party leaders — or even members of his family — the first-term parliamentarian contacted West Bank Arabs with PLO connections. They, in turn, passed on his request to address the PNC session to PLO leaders who, according to reports, enthusiastically endorsed the move.

After getting the go-ahead from the PLO, Daroushe flew to Cyprus, only disclosing his plans to a reporter from *Koteret Rashit*, a Hebrew-language weekly. A plane chartered by the PLO was waiting for him in Nicosia. However, his Jordanian visa was not. While waiting for the permit, Daroushe spoke several times by telephone with MK Rafi Edri, who called at the behest of Prime Minister Shimon Peres. Finally, in the absence of permission to enter Jordan, together with pressure from Edri and the imminent closure of the PNC meeting, Daroushe reluctantly abandoned his mission.

His trip evoked strong Knesset censure led by Tehiya-Tzomet Party member Geula Cohen, who called for Daroushe's arrest for "consorting with the enemy." He was also criticized by members of his own party and defended primarily by parliamentarians on the extreme left.

Critics pointed to the dubious legality of an Israeli — even a Knesset member — traveling to a country still in a state of war with the Jewish state to address a group dedicated to the country's destruction. Justice Minister Moshe Nissim told the Knesset that had Daroushe reached Amman, he would have violated the law. He disclosed attorney-general Yitzhak Zamir's recent order to police to investigate the legal status of Israelis who had gone to Jordan to participate in the PNC meeting.

Daroushe's champions, on the other hand, countered with the examples of Abie Nathan, ex-restaurateur and owner of the Voice of Peace broadcasting station, who traveled to Egypt in 1966; and *Haolam Hazeq* editor and former Knesset Member Uri Avineri who interviewed PLO chief Yasser Arafat in an Israeli-besieged Beirut in August, 1982. Neither were prosecuted for their actions.

Whatever the legal merits of the case, analysts emphasized the bizarre Arab reaction to the episode. While the "radical" PLO was willing to have the Israeli MK address their meeting, the

"moderate" Jordanians dragged their feet when it came to granting an entry visa. Had Daroushe intended to talk to Jordan's King Hussein, rather than to Arafat, the request for a permit might possibly have been more sympathetically received.

But not all PLO members seem to prefer negotiations to continuing terrorist actions. As the PNC was stating its willingness to enter into dialogue with Daroushe, terrorists were firing Katyusha rockets from Jordan into Israel (they fell harmlessly into open fields) and police sappers were dismantling a four-kilo bomb on Jerusalem's Jaffa

Road. No group has claimed credit for the two failed terrorist actions, but observers point to Arafat's renewed call for "armed resistance" as evidence of the PLO's refusal to abandon terrorism in favor of diplomacy.

Daroushe, however, is seemingly undeterred by the PLO's two-faced approach. He told Israel Television after his return that he still intended to meet PLO officials in order to read the speech he took on his trip. In that event, Don Quixote's legendary steed, Rosiante, will be granted only a brief respite in his master's quest for more windmills with which to battle. □

### Reactions to Trip

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*Ben-Elissar: "Unpatriotic;" Gur: "Good intentions;" Watad: "Establish a dialogue."*

*The reactions to Abdel Wahab Daroushe's completely unexpected trip were predictable. The right-wing parties — Likud, Tehiya-Tzomet and Morasha — condemned Daroushe and demanded that he be prosecuted for contact with the enemy. Likud Knesset Member Dr. Eliahu Ben-Elissar, a former chairman of the Knesset foreign affairs and defense committee, Mapam MK Mohammed Watad and Labor Health Minister Mordehai Gur were all interviewed on the subject by Newsview's Ya'acov Bar-Natan.*

**Newsview:** *Is it possible that your party overreacted to Daroushe's action?*

**Ben-Elissar:** Not at all. If he had reached Amman it would have been a very serious matter. This is certainly the view of the majority of Israelis. Such an action would have had no political value whatsoever. It would have been anti-patriotic, and far from being a step toward peace, it would have been counter-productive.

**Newsview:** *If he had appeared before the Palestine National Council and called for the abrogation of those clauses in the Palestine National Charter which postulate the destruction of Israel, would this not have been a positive step?*

**Ben-Elissar:** Not at all. A Knesset mem-

ber is supposed to set an example. He cannot go to any enemy state. That is against the law. And he cannot enter into contact with foreign agents. The PLO's officials are regarded by Jerusalem as foreign agents, and for good reason. If he had wanted to call on the PLO to cease acts of terrorism and abrogate those clauses calling for Israel's destruction, he could have done it here in Jerusalem, in the Knesset.

**Newsview:** *But if he had spoken in Jerusalem, his words would have attracted very little attention. Wouldn't the same words, spoken in Amman, have had a much greater effect?*

**Ben-Elissar:** Only in a very superficial sense. You can't compare Daroushe's action to Anwar Sadat's visit to Jerusalem. In Sadat's case it was the head of state, the decision maker, who opted for peace, with all the risks involved, and went to the enemy country. I need hardly point out that, unlike Daroushe, Sadat had been invited in writing. It was between governments, between sovereign states. In Daroushe's case it was an individual who acted on his own initiative, without consulting anybody, and in violation of the law of his country.

**Newsview:** *Do you think he should be prosecuted?*

**Ben-Elissar:** Yes, I think his parliamentary immunity should be lifted and

he should be put on trial. But apart from this there is the constitutional question. Who is MK Daroushe? By what authority does he conduct Israel's foreign policy? Who is he?

**Newsview:** *A member of the Knesset.*

**Ben-Elissar:** That is a very important role, but only the government has the right to conduct foreign policy.

**Newsview:** *Certain unnamed Likud Cabinet ministers were quoted last week as saying that if Daroushe's trip was connected in any way with the secret diplomatic initiatives attributed to Prime Minister Shimon Peres, this could shake the national unity government to its foundations. Do you share this view?*

**Ben-Elissar:** I cannot and do not believe that Daroushe's trip was in any way connected with anything the prime minister is doing. I cannot imagine that Peres would have agreed to Daroushe's action.

**Newsview:** *Does this mean you trust the prime minister and do not share the suspicions expressed by certain Likud Cabinet members?*

**Ben-Elissar:** No, I am simply saying I don't believe Peres or any Israeli prime minister would engage in contacts with the PLO, which is a terrorist organization.



*The Labor Party was divided on Daroushe's action. Prime Minister Shimon Peres, anxious to demonstrate that he had no foreknowledge of the trip, condemned it out of hand. The same view was taken by most of Labor's leadership as well as the hawkish wing of the party. The doves, such as MKs Ora Namir and Shevah Weiss, said public response was exaggerated and overly hysterical. Significantly, even the party leadership expressed sympathy for Daroushe's motives while criticizing his action. Health Minister Mordechai Gur expressed this moderate view.*

**Newsview:** *What is your reaction to Daroushe's trip?*

**Gur:** I know Abdel Wahab Daroushe quite well. We worked together during the election campaign, and I certainly have no doubt about his good intentions. He wants to promote peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors. As an Arab Knesset member, he knows that it will always be more difficult to achieve full equality for Israel's Arab minority so long as peace has not been achieved. However, I'm afraid he made a mistake, a big mistake. I don't think that any

member of the Knesset should take such a responsibility on his own shoulders, without any discussion, without consulting friends, without receiving approval from the governing bodies of the Labor Party and from the Knesset. If he had succeeded in reaching Amman, I think his action would have served the PLO much more than the State of Israel, or the cause of Israeli-Arab peace.

**Newsview:** *During the election campaign Daroushe called for the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel. This is hardly the Jordanian option formally advocated by the Labor Party. Does Labor tolerate deviant opinion of this kind in order to preserve the Arab votes it receives?*

**Gur:** As you know, the Labor Party has been called a supermarket of opinions. On social issues there is a large measure of agreement, but on foreign policy there are differences . . . Daroushe was always anxious to find a formula to bring Arabs and Jews together. We have had Jews in the party who also believed in the establishment of a Palestinian state, and we may still have some who think in that way. So long as they are Zionists and share our basic human values, there is room for them in our party. But in trying to go to Amman, Daroushe overstepped what the party allows. If he had succeeded, we should have had to reconsider his position.

**Newsview:** *Has Daroushe's action aggravated the strains in the coalition between Labor and Likud?*

**Gur:** No, I don't think so, because the Labor Party made it quite clear that it is totally opposed to Daroushe's step, and that it was his own private initiative. I think the difference between the Likud and the Alignment in this issue lies in the tone of our response. The Labor Alignment is unafraid of any step necessary to improve relations with the neighboring Arab countries, provided that such a step is carefully thought out. I think that Daroushe had a sudden impulse and got the idea that this was the time, and he did not stop to think that his action might be exploited by the PLO. But I do not think it wise to frighten the Israeli public every day with the idea that the national unity government is going to break up. This government was established for very good reasons, and is not going to break up overnight.



*Mohammed Watad is the only Arab MK in the small left-wing Mapam Party, which refused to enter the National Unity government. Watad praised the action of Daroushe, although the Jewish Mapam Knesset members were more reticent, and showed a certain impatience with Daroushe and Watad. One Mapam MK described the Daroushe affair as a "damp squib."*

**Newsview:** *Why do you think Daroushe decided to make his trip?*

**Watad:** I think Abdel Wahab got the feeling that Israeli Arabs were not being given the chance to play the constructive role of which they are capable, and that is why he took the initiative. He really believes that Arabs in Israel, who are originally Palestinians, can bridge the political gap between Israel and the PLO. I thought it was a marvelous idea, and I was keeping my fingers crossed in the hope he would succeed.

**Newsview:** *Did you know about it?*

**Watad:** I received information that three members of the Knesset would be welcome at the Palestine National Council.

**Newsview:** *Who were the other two?*

**Watad:** I cannot disclose that. Of course, if they wish to divulge the information, that is their privilege.

**Newsview:** *If Daroushe's trip was such a good idea, why have you never initiated a similar act?*

**Watad:** Daroushe had an advantage in that he belonged to the Labor Party, the biggest party which believes in territorial compromise. He did not consult with me about his initiative.

**Newsview:** *Many Israeli politicians called for the removal of Daroushe's immunity. After all, he tried to enter an enemy country to consort with the PLO.*

**Watad:** When Abie Nathan first flew to Egypt on his private peace mission, Egypt was heading the Arab countries at war with Israel. Yet all of us, Jews and Arabs, were praying for his safety. Dozens of Israelis — Matti Peled, Uri Avineri, Amnon Kapeliuk and many others — have met representatives of the PLO in Europe. They were not prosecuted. But now we hear long speeches calling for the prosecution of Daroushe. Is he not an Israeli citizen with equal rights? Is it not his job as a Knesset member to try and establish a dialogue between Jews and Arabs, between Israelis and Palestinians?

**Newsview:** *To be fair to the right wing, they also called for the prosecution of Matti Peled and Uri Avineri.*

**Watad:** The same right wing formed a lobby of 25 MKs in defense of the Jewish terrorist ring which is being prosecuted. This provocation is not only against the law, but also against the courts. Why are they so selective in their morality? □

ISRAEL

NEW MEMORIAL COMPLEX HONORS FALLEN INTELLIGENCE AGENTS

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[Article by Victor Perry]

[Text]

When United States President Dwight Eisenhower dedicated the Central Intelligence Agency's headquarters at Langley, Virginia, in the late 1950s, he said of the organization's secret work: "Success cannot be publicized, failure cannot be explained."

For Israel, the success of its vaunted intelligence service has been publicized far and wide, from the 1960 capture of Adolf Eichmann to the 1976 rescue of the hostages in Entebbe. Some of its failures have also attracted worldwide attention, from the spy ring caught in Nasser's Egypt to the Arabs' surprise attack in the Yom Kippur War. Much, of course, has never been told.

Now, for the first time, a window is to be opened on this secret world: a major complex is to be dedicated to Israel's intelligence services. Located outside Tel Aviv, it will contain an amphitheater, public halls and a memorial on which will be inscribed the names of all members of the intelligence community who have fallen in the line of duty — made public for the first time. The complex is scheduled to be opened next year.

At the time of going to press, 334 names are to be inscribed — men and women of the three main intelligence branches: *Mossad* (literally "institution"), responsible for overseas intelligence, spying and counterterrorism; *Shabak* (*Sherut Bitachon Klali* — General Security Services), in charge of security and counterintelligence inside Israel and the administered territories; and *Aman* (*Agaf Hamodiin* — military intelligence).

The list begins with the United Nations partition decision on November 29, 1947, with the names of five agents who died between that date and the end of the War of Independence, in March 1949, in operations behind enemy lines. Another 26 fell between the end of that war and the aftermath of the Sinai Campaign, in 1956, fighting Arab *fedayeen*; 52 died between 1957 and the outbreak of the 1967 Six Day War in operations against Palestinian terrorists and in gathering intelligence on Arab states and armies; 107 died in the war and its aftermath in operations against the growing power of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the administered territories and abroad; and 144 have died since then in the Yom Kippur and Lebanese Wars and in the course of intelligence operations connected with these conflicts.

While many died in battle as soldiers in the military intelligence corps, the list includes some who died of natural causes while on active service. Revealed for the first time are the names of those who died behind enemy lines, usually under false names.

Three of the names to be inscribed were victims of the ill-fated Operation Suzannah, which shook Israel's political establishment for over a decade and led eventually to the Lavon Affair and the resignation and political eclipse of David Ben-Gurion. A spy ring of Egyptian Jews who had been trained in Israel was caught while engaged in sabotage missions designed to create ill will between the United States, Britain and Nasser's Egypt. Their purpose was to persuade

Britain not to evacuate the Suez Canal and other strategic posts in Egypt. Of the eight persons caught and sentenced, two were hanged on January 31, 1955 — Shmuel Azar and Dr. Moshe Marzuk. (Dr. Marzuk's brother is a member of the committee erecting the memorial. A third victim was Max Binet, who committed suicide in a Cairo jail a week earlier by slashing his wrists with a rusty nail. A major in the Israel Defense Forces, Binet had been sent to Egypt on an espionage mission not connected with Operation Suzannah. His cover; acting as the representative of a firm making artificial limbs for disabled soldiers. He reportedly succeeded in arranging a meeting with President Nasser. After reestablishing contact with headquarters in Israel, he was put in touch with the sabotage ring — a fatal error which compromised him when the ring was caught.

In addition to seven local citizens who were caught, another young Egyptian Jew who had a casual connection with the ring was arrested but released. He was the legendary Eli Cohen, who later immigrated to Israel and became one of its most successful spies until he was caught in Damascus and hanged in public on May 15, 1965. Cohen, who went to Syria in the guise of an emigré returning to his country from Argentina after amassing considerable wealth, penetrated the top echelons of the Syrian political and military establishment. He was caught while making his daily broadcast to Tel Aviv; Syrian counter-intelligence had received sophisticated radio homing equipment from the Soviet Union.

It is possible that this same equipment had led to the downfall a month earlier of another of Israel's most successful spies, Wolfgang Lotz (the "Champagne Spy"), a former IDF major whose real name is Ze'ev Gur Aryeh.

These are those who say Cohen should have been warned of the presence of this equipment and instructed to cut back on his lengthy broadcasts. And according to some sources, Lotz was not trapped by homing equipment but was apprehended by chance when Egyptian security forces clamped down on German nationals (Lotz's cover) during a visit to Egypt by East German leader Walter Ulbricht. Lotz was luckier than Cohen. He received a life sentence after convincing his Egyptian interrogators he was a German national and

not an Israeli. He and his wife, Waltrud, were eventually exchanged together with the Operation Suzannah spies for 5,000 Egyptian prisoners of war, shortly after the Six Day War.

The first names which will appear on the memorial are those of Gideon Ben David, David Shemesh and Nissim Attiyah, all born in Arab countries. They died on the same day — December 22, 1947 — six months before the State of Israel was declared. While the circumstance of their deaths has never been publicized, they are believed to have been caught on a mission behind enemy lines in an Arab country and executed under false names. They had all been members of the Palmach's special Arab unit, commanded at one time by Yeruham Cohen, a close collaborator of the late Yigal Allon.

The first name to appear on the memorial after the establishment of the state is that of Damascus-born Yaacov Bouka'i, caught in Jordan on his way to Syria and executed on August 3, 1949. Bouka'i, under the name Naguib Ibrahim Hamouda, had infiltrated a group of Arab refugees and Jordanian legionnaires. He was apprehended at the Mandelbaum Gate in Jerusalem and taken to the Kishle prison in the Old City, where he was tortured.

The committee planning the commemoration will have to decide whether to include the names of two other men killed in an Arab country — Shalom Salah and Yosef Basri — who went to the gallows in Baghdad in 1951. They were accused of supplying arms to the Jewish underground in Iraq. The underground had been formed to protect Jews against Arab rioters prior to the major exodus of Iraqi Jewry in 1951-52. It was organized with the help of agents of the Mossad (in its formative stages at the time), among whom were Speaker of the Knesset Shlomo Hillel and ex-MK Mordechai Ben-Porat.

More fortunate than Salah and Basri, who were Iraqi citizens, was Yehuda Tajjar, caught at the same time and sentenced to life imprisonment. He was freed 15 years later after extended negotiations led by Isser Harel.

It was Harel who took over the Mossad and Shin Bet internal security services in their early years and, more than anyone else, established their joint reputation as one of the best intelligence services in the world. It was he who directed the capture of Adolf Eich-

mann in Argentina. While reports have appeared in the world press from time to time of Israeli agents losing their lives in pursuit of Nazi war criminals in South America, reliable sources deny such losses ever occurred.

Israel's intelligence services often assisted Jews throughout the world, helping them escape from Arab or other countries, providing them with arms and training to defend themselves against hostile forces if necessary. An extensive Mossad-directed network was set up in Algeria and Morocco for such purposes during the 1950s and 1960s. One of the names on the memorial is that of Haim Zarfati, a Mossad agent who drowned with 42 Moroccan Jews when their boat, the Egoz, sank in stormy seas on its way to Gibraltar on January 11, 1961. The ship was part of a Mossad-assisted illegal immigration effort which eventually helped open the gates of Morocco for the widescale immigration to Israel of that country's Jews.

It was Harel who recruited former members of the Lehi (Stern Group) underground organization, including Yitzhak Shamir, who was organizational head of the Lehi under the name Yitzhak (Michael) Yezernitsky. The suggestion to recruit former Stern members reportedly came from a neighbor of Harel whose sister was married to Yair Stern, founder of Lehi. (Stern was killed by the British in 1942). It took some time before Prime Minister Ben-Gurion agreed to this, however.

The fight against PLO terrorists, much of it on foreign soil, intensified in the years following the Six Day War. Nineteen intelligence services men who died in that war are listed on the memorial. There was an additional man as well. According to Stewart Steven's book, *The Spymasters of Israel*, an Israeli spy in Egyptian uniform was mistakenly killed by Israeli forces during the war. Since he was an Egyptian, his name does not appear on the memorial.

The secret war against terrorists can be said to have started in earnest after the PLO's first act which received international headlines — the hijacking of an El Al aircraft to Algeria in 1968. Similar acts of international piracy and wanton murder followed. Israel's response was a retaliatory raid on Beirut Airport, in which 13 Arab-operated aircraft were destroyed. The raid, which required information from Mossad agents in Leb-

anon, was commanded by Rafael Eitan, who later became chief of staff and is now a Knesset member.

The secret war abroad was directed by Major-General (res.) Meir Amit, who took over the Mossad from Harel in 1963. While Mossad operations were making headlines, the Shin Bet internal security services under Yosef Harmelin, a former kibbutznik and major in military intelligence, was penetrating and fighting the PLO in Israel and the administered territories. (Harmelin later entered the diplomatic corps and became Israel's ambassador to South Africa.)

It is not clear how many agents lost their lives in this anonymous war. It is known, however, that a number of agents residing in Arab countries and the administered territories were caught, frequently tortured, and then executed. According to foreign sources, several agents infiltrated the top ranks of the PLO.

Michael Bar-Zohar wrote in his book, *Spies in the Promised Land*, "On the gallows of Cairo, Damascus and Baghdad died Arabs, Copts, Ethiopians, Greeks and others, spying for Israel, some for money and adventurism, others for idealism." He might have included Armenians, such as Jacob Tamalian, alias Jacques Leon Thomas, born in Cairo and hanged in December 1962 for spying for Israel and allegedly also for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Others were Palestinian-born Ibrahim Shalim and his wife, Inshira, sentenced to death in Cairo in 1974, and Samir el Tamini, similarly sentenced in 1976.

By the time Amit left the Mossad in 1969, its size had been doubled, its equipment modernized, cooperation with military intelligence and foreign intelligence services streamlined and the battle against international terrorism put into high gear. Nevertheless, the PLO was about to step up its terror campaign markedly.

The new Mossad chief, Major-General (res.) Zvi Zamir, literally observed the PLO being expelled from Jordan while several thousand of its members were killed by King Hussein's soldiers during the period that came to be known as Black September, 1970. But the respite from PLO terror was short. The first ominous indication came a year later, in November 1971. Three Arabs, identifying themselves as members of a

new organization called Black September, assassinated Jordanian Prime Minister Wasfi Tal as he stepped out of his hotel in Cairo.

The Mossad soon discovered that Black September was an offshoot of Yasser Arafat's Fatah and nominally under his command. Among their activities was the hijacking of a Sabena airliner to Lod Airport in May 1972 (the passengers were later freed by Israeli commandos), and the massacre at the same airport several weeks later of 24 bystanders by three Japanese members of the Red Army, acting on behalf of Black September. The Mossad, according to foreign sources, struck back two days later in Beirut by booby-trapping the car of Ghassan Kanafani, a member of the central command of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which had taken credit for the latest deeds. Kanafani's death was followed six weeks later by an attack on his successor, Bassam Abu Sharif, who was injured when he opened a booby-trapped parcel in his Beirut office.

All this was a prelude to one of the most horrific operations by a PLO-affiliated group — the massacre of 11 Israeli athletes and coaches at the Munich Olympic Games in September 1971. Black September claimed responsibility. A month later Prime Minister Golda Meir appointed Major-General (res.) Aharon Yariv to be her special adviser on antiterrorism, a newly created position. She also gave the green light, after much hesitation, for a campaign to assassinate the leaders of the PLO. Yariv, who had been chief of military intelligence and one of the architects of Israel's victory in the Six Day War, reinforced the shaken but still effective Mossad.

The first victim was killed a month after the Munich massacre: Wadal Adel Zwaiter, Black September's operations chief in Rome. The first Israeli agent to lose his life in this no-holds-barred battle was Baruch (Sambo) Cohen, gunned down two months later, on January 26, 1973, on a sidewalk in Madrid. He had gone to meet an Arab informer, one of several who had helped him trap a number of PLO agents who had tried to infiltrate into Israel. The informer apparently turned against him, as had another informer who had shot a Mossad colleague of Cohen's in a Brussels café two months earlier. The victim, Zadok Ofir, survived five bullet wounds and today is

a private citizen in Tel Aviv.

On the monument appear an additional nine names from this period of open warfare between the Mossad and the PLO in the capitals of Europe. Before and after Cohen's death at least half-a-dozen PLO commanders in Europe were killed, one by a remote-controlled booby trap in his telephone, another by a motion-sensitive bomb in a car and others by the Mossad's favorite weapon, a .22-caliber Beretta pistol with a silencer.

Two other Israelis met their deaths during this period in the most daring of all operations against the PLO up to that time, but their names do not appear on the memorial. They were not members of the intelligence services but of a crack paratrooper unit which, in cooperation with intelligence units, raided PLO headquarters in Beirut in April 1973. The Israelis were driven to their targets by members of the Mossad, who had arrived in Beirut a week earlier and rented cars for the purpose. More than 100 terrorists were reported killed in the raid on the headquarters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and on an adjacent building where three Black September commanders were gunned down in their apartments. Several vital documents were captured.

One of the commanders of the raid, Colonel Uzi Yairi, was killed two years later while storming the Savoy Hotel in Tel Aviv where PLO infiltrators had taken hostages after landing on a nearby beach. Yairi's name is included on the list as he was attached to an intelligence unit at the time. The two other commanders of the raid on Beirut, both lieutenant colonels at the time, are alive and well today: Major-General Ehud Barak, head of military intelligence, and Major-General Amnon Shahak (Lipkin), commander of the central front.

Yariv left his post as special adviser to the prime minister in June 1973, two months after the raid on Beirut, to enter politics, confident that the initiative in the war against terrorism was securely in Israeli hands. He soon found himself called back in an advisory capacity, however, during the Yom Kippur War, which broke out four months later, in October 1973.

Forty-three names are inscribed on the memorial from that period. One is Ze'ev Amit, formerly Sluzky, a cousin

of Major-General (res.) Amit Sluzky, once a senior member of the Mossad, fell in one of the battles led by Ariel Sharon in the crossing of the Suez Canal.

The period following the Yom Kippur War on the memorial's list includes the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Yonatan (Yoni) Netanyahu, who led the epic raid on Entebbe Airport, Uganda, to free the Israeli hostages. The rescue took place on July 4, 1976, on the same day the U.S. was celebrating its bicentennial.

In the Lebanese War of 1982 and its aftermath some 30 intelligence personnel, mostly Shin Bet members, were killed, almost half of them in the collapse and subsequent bombing of the IDF headquarters buildings in Tyre.

The Shin Bet could well be described as the unsung hero of the intelligence services. Its work requires more cloak-and-dagger activities than any of the other branches, as it is ceaselessly engaged in a clandestine war against terrorists in the administered territories and inside Israel. When any of its agents, whether Jews or Arabs, are caught, their end is swift, terrible and anonymous. When they succeed in uncovering a terrorist cell, the news is invariably downplayed or not publicized at all. Many of the names on the memorial are from the Shin Bet; one was killed in an apartment in Netanya several years ago while meeting a supposedly friendly Arab agent from the administered territories.

One of the most recent victims to be added to the list is Irit Portugez, a sergeant in the intelligence corps who died in April this year when commandos stormed a civilian bus which had been hijacked by terrorists and driven to Gaza.

The Memorial for the Fallen of Israel's Intelligence Community will be far more than purely a monument to the dead. Covering almost two acres neighboring the IDF Command and Staff College north of Tel Aviv, the complex will contain three sections. The first will be a memorial built in the shape of a labyrinth to symbolize the complexity and secrecy of the work of the intelligence agencies; it

will be divided into five areas, on the walls of which will be inscribed the names of the fallen, divided into the periods described above. The second section will contain an amphitheater and parade ground for ceremonies and special events, and the third will comprise an administration building, a library on intelligence subjects and meeting halls. According to the coordinator of the project, Shaika Daliot, a longtime intelligence operative, the amphitheater and meeting halls were almost fully booked a year in advance by various groups within the intelligence community.

The project was initiated four years ago by some of the families of the fallen and former heads of the agencies. Meir Amit is chairman of the public committee in charge of the project, while Major-General (res.) Chaim Herzog, twice chief of military intelligence, was chairman of the finance committee until he became president of Israel. Among others on the public committee are Yariv, two former heads of the Mossad — Major-Generals (res.) Zamir and Yitzhak Hofi — and several former chiefs and deputy chiefs of military intelligence, including Binyamin Gibli, Shlomo Gazit, Yehoshua Saguy and Professor Yuval Ne'eman, minister of science and development. Also included is Eliahu Ben-Elissar, a former Mossad operative, Israel's first ambassador to Egypt and more recently chairman of the Knesset foreign affairs and security committee.

Construction of the complex, which began earlier this year, is based on the architectural plans of the firm of Baruch and Solomon, which competed with 55 firms for the tender. It is hoped the memorial will be complete next summer, says Daliot, depending on how quickly the rest of the funds can be raised. So far no public funds are involved, and all the money contributed, about two million dollars, has come from private sources — about half from the Diaspora and the rest from members of the intelligence community and families of the fallen. Less than \$500,000 is needed to complete the project. □

ISRAEL

# STORY OF EAST AFRICAN STOWAWAY STIRS CONTROVERSY

Tel Aviv NEWSVIEW in English No 46, 21-27 Nov 84 p 7

[Article by Tony Cadot]

[Text]

Last week, the Ministry of Transport commissioned an inquiry into allegations that sea Captain Avner Gilad set a stowaway adrift off the coast of Mozambique from the ship Moran in March 1982. Chairman of the Israel Shipping Research Board Dan Hiram will probe claims made by members of the crew that Gilad, master of the Moran, forced the East African stowaway onto a makeshift raft, in shark infested waters, after severely beating him.

The two crew members who brought the case to light told *Newsview* they have been trying to have the incident investigated for the past two and a half years. According to Ze'ev Kornberg (who photographed the incident) and Eyal Faran, they took their story to a number of Knesset members and ministers, but to no avail. When they learned that Gilad was due to receive a new command, they decided to speak.

Gilad told the inquiry the stowaway was discovered shortly after leaving Dar-es-Salaam. The man was told he had four alternatives: to be returned to Dar-es-Salaam, where he would be lucky if the Tanzanian authorities did not kill him; be taken to South Africa, where he would be handed over to the local authorities and would probably serve a long prison sentence (as well as probably causing the crew to be arrested and the Moran impounded); to bring him to Israel, where he would be kept on board until the ship returned to Tanzania or to drop him overboard, close to shore, on a raft. According to Gilad, the stowaway chose the latter option, but later changed his mind. The captain told the

commission he sailed to within one nautical mile off the coast of (pro-Soviet) Mozambique ("thus endangering the ship") after making a two-and-a-half-hour detour, and dropped the stowaway overboard, on a raft, in a quiet bay, where the wind and currents would carry him to shore.

Following his testimony, Gilad refused to be interviewed, but did attack the press saying, "The media is trying to kill me as it killed Ya'akov Levinson. I will choose when and by whom to be interviewed. Until then, leave me alone." (He subsequently told his version on Israel Television.) Crewmen Kornberg and Faran said that prior to setting the raft adrift, the stowaway was severely beaten. They told how all the crew were brought one by one to the bridge, where the captain emphasized the absolute authority invested in a ship's master, and the methods he was allowed, under International Law, for putting down a mutiny, including the summary execution of mutineers. The two claim one crewman from Kibbutz Givat Brenner did disobey orders and refused to assist in the building of the raft. Since the incident, Faran has left the Merchant Navy. He says that he is "unable to serve in an organization where basic human principles are ignored."

Kornberg claims he and other crewmen have been blacklisted by the shipping companies since trying to have an inquiry opened, and are unable to find work. Asked whether the stowaway reached shore or not, Kornberg said, "I don't know, I went down to my

cabin. Unless you're sick, you don't watch another human going to his death.

Crewman Yosef Hertz told the inquiry how he was ordered by Gilad to build the raft. "I'm not a professional carpenter," he said, "and I don't know how good the raft was. I made the best of what I could find, some thick planks and large nails, but whether it was capable of staying afloat for long, I don't know. After we lowered the stowaway onto the raft, I threw him a plastic water bottle, but it burst."

Third Officer Ron Gorfinkle, duty officer at the time of the incident, testified that Gilad made a two-and-a-half-hour detour before casting the stowaway adrift. Asked why a lifeboat was not sent with the man, he said that as they were off the coast of Mozambique, a country with which Israel has no diplomatic ties, they were concerned for the safety of the ship and crew and anticipated trouble from the local authorities if a lifeboat was spotted. Gorfinkle also said the African was dissuaded from his initial decision to go overboard by the ship's crew.

Called to give an expert, unbiased opinion, chairman of the Naval Officers Union Efraim Markovitz said standing orders require that any person who must be put ashore, should be sent in a lifeboat. However, as the Moran was near an enemy coast and within its territorial waters, it was the captain's prerogative and duty to decide what was best for ship and crew. As to whether the raft could have reached shore from where it was cast adrift, Markovitz said that without detailed charts and the ship's log, it would be impossible to give an opinion. Following the commission's inquiry the attorney general has now decided to hand over the investigation to the police. □

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ISRAEL

ROLE OF WOMEN'S CORPS SURVEYED

Tel Aviv NEWSVIEW in English No 47, 28 Nov-4 Dec 84 pp 14-15, 18-19

[Article by Muriel Moulton]

[Text]

**I**t's a man's army" is a truism applicable to every army in the world. It is no less applicable to the Israel Defense Forces, where about one-third of the soldiers are women.

"It is a man's army," declares Colonel Amira Dotan, head of the IDF's Women's Corps. "And it must be that way for those areas that are responsible for the fighting. This is not a theoretical army. Men are fighting. Women don't go into combat. Those who are responsible for the fighting have to be men.

"But," she continues, "there are other areas not concerned with fighting — manpower, education, legal services, the official spokesman. In those areas there is a limit on how far a woman can advance. Why not a woman commander of the Education Corps or a woman spokesman? Why not a woman general?"

The question is not rhetorical. Dotan, who became head of the Women's Corps in October 1982, holds the rank of colonel and is the highest ranking woman in the IDF. The men who head the other IDF corps are all major generals, although it was recently announced that the position will shortly be upgraded to brigadier general.

"I try not to be affected by it, but I believe it does matter," she says. "It's part of the whole picture, part of our tradition. It matters a lot to women who see the army as their career. They have to know they can advance in rank to higher than a colonel." About 10 percent of the women presently serving in the IDF have chosen to make the army their career.

Petite and fine-boned, her hair curling softly around her face, Dotan belies one of the commonly held stereotypes of a woman soldier. The three "falafels" on her shoulder (denoting her rank) are the only external evidence of the strength and determination that enabled her to rise to her present position.

"No one says 'no' to me," she says quietly, "so I can't say I have any problem. I'm lucky because our leaders are unique. They ask my opinion and they listen to me. I am involved in those parts of the decision-making process that involve female soldiers. Our chief of staff [Moshe Levy] does not take any decision about women soldiers without me. I don't say it's easy. It means always being available and being strong, but I manage to do it. It is not impossible.

"But we hope women will be able to move into the decision-making and value-setting levels in other areas of the army, not just the Women's Corps. Right now," she says, "all the decision-makers are men. All policy is set by men. The language is a man's language. The values are male values. It is a male-oriented organization. But there are areas in which we are making progress. Things are changing."

One of the most spectacular changes has been in the work women do in the army. Until recently, the overwhelming number of women in the army were limited to routine clerical work; now, only about 50 percent are in clerical jobs. Paradoxically, most of the resistance to moving women into high status

work comes from the rank of the women soldiers themselves.

Although in the past few years, virtually all of the 516 military professions have been opened to women, the young women entering the army at the age of 18 have been less than enthusiastic in signing up for them.

"A lot of women are themselves chauvinists," declares Lieutenant-Colonel Dorit Dagani. "It's not something you can just switch off. We don't force it. We don't try to push them into new areas. It's no use unless they really want it. It takes time to change their feelings about themselves."

Despite the reluctance of women to enter what have been exclusively male professions, the Women's Corps today includes jet-fighter mechanics, artillery and tank instructors and graduates of the general staff, the command college and the maritime masters course. Women hold key positions in the Communications Corps and Intelligence Corps, and are responsible for most of the sophisticated computer operations. Female officers fill posts as engineering officers in charge of bomb disposal, sabotage and mining. In the high-technology and technical professions, the girls are given special training courses and sign on for a short additional period of service.

Dagani, second in command to Dotan until January 1984, when she became head of the women's teaching unit, explains that many of the professions were previously closed to women because of the relatively long training required.

"Women, even those who become officers, have only two years of compulsory service instead of three years," she points out. "And the professional courses are expensive, so the girls aren't considered a good investment. But now the army is willing to pay for it, because we need them to do the work. The only limit is the women's desire to learn those professions. But," she says, "many women choose to have a job in the army that lets them live at home, instead of going home only at weekends."

Dotan points out that the reluctance of young women to train for technologically advanced professions reflects years of societal preconditioning. "Learning technical subjects was not considered feminine in all their years in school. And in our Jewish tradition the

role of the woman is the helpmate. This is still the perception our young women have of themselves. This is the main problem we have now: to change the attitude of the young woman and of her parents and society. It is a positive policy of the IDF, and the only resistance we are meeting is from the women themselves."

For Dotan, there is a clear link between changing the attitudes of young Israeli women conscripts and reducing sex-based discrimination in society. "If we can increase the number of female soldiers who go into the technological occupations and decrease the number who are in 'coffee jobs,' it is an important step. The other step is to educate the male officers, change their attitude and the atmosphere. This is a positive policy of the IDF and it is being done."

She pauses: a quick, warm smile. "There is nothing wrong with the 'coffee jobs.' What is not right is to be limited only to those jobs."

Dotan, who has a master's degree in psychology from Ben-Gurion University, has been in the army for 19 years. "Service in the army is a natural part of our life," she declares. "It's not a voluntary thing. It's part of the process. We are born, we grow, we serve in the army, we marry and so forth. It's one of the obligations of a woman and part of her role in society. But women have too few role models that can help them know how to be a professional and a soldier, and still be a woman at the same time. It's not so easy."

Dotan points out that many (female) commissioned officers are married and have children. "It's important," she emphasizes, "because they are good role models for younger women. And their views are realistic. It's not easy to do two or three jobs at a time, but it's possible."

Dotan, whose husband Jonathan is a businessman, has three children aged seven, 12, and 14. Shortage of time to spend with her family is the most sensitive problem in her marriage, she says. "When the children were tiny, it was easier," she recalls. "I'm lucky because my husband is warm and affectionate and would fill in sometimes for me. But now that they are growing and becoming teenagers, it is more difficult. We are open about it and we talk about it — loudly. But it's true that the children are torn between admiration for what I'm doing and their needs."

Describing a conflict known to all professional women who are also mothers, Dotan says: "I spend a lot of time advising young soldiers but I don't have enough time to advise my own children. So now I am thinking of ways to improve the quality of the time I do spend with them."

Agreeing that it is important for women officers to be married and to have families, Dagani points out that the army tries to ameliorate some of the inherent conflicts. "A woman officer can choose to be assigned to any part of the country where her husband works and where they want to establish their home," Dagani says. "With that choice she limits the range of as-

signments for which she might be eligible, until she feels ready to be further away from home for longer periods."

Unlike Dotan, Dagani, whose sons are nine, 11 and 13 years old, felt the greatest conflict during the children's younger years. "I did smaller jobs in the army then. I didn't want to do anything that took 24 hours a day, as

my work often does now. When my husband David, who teaches at the Technion, went on sabbatical, I was able to accompany him with the children. Now that the children are older, I agreed to take a bigger job, a job in which I feel I can fulfill my potential."

Dagani, who entered the army as a conscript in 1966, heads a unit of 750 women teachers. While her children were young, she was commander of the Hiba unit in Haifa. Hiba is an auxiliary police unit which was established in the 1960s following the increase in terrorist activities. Women soldiers in Hiba assist in security duties in towns and cities throughout Israel.

Commenting on how her army career has affected her marriage, Dagani says: "We found a balance. From 1968 until 1983, I gave more time, and now perhaps my husband is giving more time. I think it's very good. We are comfortable with it."

Although vestiges of sex-based discrimination — some of it self-inflicted — continue to exist in the IDF, there seems to be very little of the sexual harassment which is common to many large, hierarchical institutions.

"Of course not," says a young woman who completed her two years of compulsory service six months ago. "The girls know they have backing. Do-

tan is a good officer. If there was anything like that, the girls know they only have to write a letter. Dotan would make the earth shake!"

The Women's Corps is officially known as *Chen*, the Hebrew acronym for the corps. *Chen* is also the Hebrew word for "charm" or "grace". The appellation epitomizes the apparent contradiction built into the perception of women as soldiers. In the long and often-bloody history of the Jews, there have been ample opportunities to lay that apparent contradiction to rest along with other myths.

It is not necessary to go as far back as the apocryphal story of the beautiful warrior Judith to find examples of Jewish women fighting in defense of their people. As recently as the modern prestate period, Jewish women soldiers served as artillery officers, ambulance drivers and fighters. Women soldiers accompanied armored convoys and participated in the defense of isolated settlements.

"They did all that and probably made the coffee too," laughs a 19 year old with the buoyant irreverence of a conscript halfway through two years

of compulsory service. The concept of "women's place . . ." dies hard.

"It's not just the young ones who let themselves be limited by sexist attitudes," remarks Dotan. "Even with older women, it is the same problem in a different context."

Although men are required to serve in the army reserves until the age of 54, women do reserve duty until age 24, and then only if they are not married or not mothers. According to Dagani, the number of women who serve in the reserves is not significant and the army does not rely on the women reservists as it does on men.

"I ask them to volunteer for the reserves," Dotan says, "and they love the idea. They say it's wonderful. But then: 'What will my husband say? What will my boss say?' I'm talking about women 38 or 40 years old. Their children are grown. But they say: 'I'll lose my job.' No man has ever lost his job because of

reserve service. The men are obliged to go. But a woman would have to volunteer, and she's afraid she'll be punished for it, for causing inconvenience. So she stays home, although it would have been a wonderful chance to develop herself."

Admitting she has not made much progress in developing a significant women's reserve force, Dotan points out that "in our tradition and our society, women have accepted that they shouldn't fight to get what they want. They're taught that if they're always nice and quiet and don't demand, someone will do something for them. But the fact is, if you don't push, no one will do anything for you. Changing attitudes about how women should behave is connected to changing a society's tradition."

Dotan is forthright in assessing one of the most delicate questions related to women serving in the army: promiscuity. "It's part of the picture," she says. "In every unit where women are serving, there are female officers to help and advise. A woman is never thrown anywhere alone. But the attitudes of the men have to change too. The role of the woman is complex and it reflects our society. We're making progress," she remarks quietly. "But such things don't change quickly."

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ISRAEL

IDF WORK DAY LENGTHENED BY ONE HOUR

Tel Aviv BAMAHAHE in Hebrew No 10, 28 Nov 84 p 5, 7

[Article by Baruch Ron: "Commencing Yesterday: IDF Work Day Is 10 Hours Long"]

[Text] Commencing last night, Tuesday, 27 November, an order lengthening the work day in IDF headquarters' and installations by 1 hour went into effect: from 8:00 in the morning until 6:00 in the evening. Hours on Friday will remain as previously, from 8:00 until 13:00, and it is possible that work will end at 5:00 on one weekday.

In a special letter circulated last week to officers, the head of the Personnel Division at the General Staff, Maj Gen Amos Yaron wrote: "Less resources will be at our command, but it is in our power to do more; we have human resources, work values, initiative, loyalty, and intellect, which we must use to the fullest. We have done so and will increase in so-doing, if every one of you will see it as his personal duty, daily, and hourly. Thus we will take this seriously, and as is our way, we will serve as an example and as a symbol. I know that many members of the IDF, both as individuals and as groups, work much longer. Please see in this an additional expression of our willingness to relinquish comfort and to rise to the occasion and meet a national challenge," writes Major General Yaron.

Following the lengthening of the work day, two orders will be revised. Major Gidi from the Discipline and Government Section of the Personnel Division of the IDF stated that this refers to the order specifying "hours of activity in IDF headquarters and installations," and the subject of "career service for married women who are mothers of children under the age of 13." This order, in its present form, states that an officer is permitted to shorten work service hours by 1 hour.

On this matter a number of alternatives are being examined, and the staff will reach its conclusions shortly.

Our reporter Yoni Sa'ar stated that at the General Staff, in the Quarter-master Division, a number of suggestions were raised to lengthen the work day selectively--only in the production sites, such as workshops and store-houses. Also a suggestion has been made that the work day be commenced earlier (from 7-5) instead of lengthened by an hour (8-6). This would be in order to save energy during the hours when the sun sets, which requires increased use of electricity.

9182

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## ISRAEL

### BRIEFS

NEW ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE SYSTEMS--New airborne systems for electronic surveillance, which enable long range follow-up in real time, have been developed at the "ELTA" factory. Among the new systems is a system which is capable of receiving transmissions on all the frequencies on which accepted radar systems operate. A computer installed in the system performs most of the actions. It controls the receiver whose function is to scan frequencies, measure the parameters of the signals received, and identify the radar. The receiving range of the airborne system exceeds 400 kilometers, when the airplane is cruising at a height of 12 kilometers. A team of six operates the intelligence systems, which can be installed in large transport planes. The airborne surveillance system excels in its great sophistication and especially high sensitivity. Most of the components were developed in Israel. [Text] [Tel Aviv BAMAHA in Hebrew No 10, 28 Nov 84 p 5] 9182

COMMISSION STUDIES DESERTION--A special commission to study the subject of AWOL soldiers in the IDF began activity approximately 2 weeks ago. The commission is chaired by Maj Gen David Maimon, president of the Military Appeals Court, and includes as members the chief adjutant, a representative of the Department of Behavioral Studies from the Personnel Division of the General Staff, the head of the Center for Advancement of Special Populations, the assistant chief military police officer for imprisonment, and a representative of the Military Courts. The commission will principally examine possible means of reducing the number of AWOL's, which in recent years has consistently been increasing, and related matters, such as the situation in the prisons, the legal aspects of the problem, etc. The discussions and presentation of materials will conclude in mid-January, when an executable program will be put together and presented to the head of the Personnel Division. In Major General Maimon's opinion, it will be impossible to wipe out the phenomenon of AWOL's in the IDF, but it is possible to reduce them significantly, and this is the direction in which the commission will act. [Text] [Tel Aviv BAMAHA in Hebrew No 11, 5 Dec 84 p 6] 9182

CSO: 4423/8

KUWAIT

CURRENT PROBLEMS IN STOCK MARKET VIEWED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 403, 10 Nov 84 pp 53-54

/Text/ The Kuwaiti Government charges a committee of twenty economics personalities with coming up with solutions to the economic crisis which led to the fall in stock prices and was about to create a second "Manakh" stock market crisis.

There is a commotion in Kuwait as a result of fears over the possibility of another stock (Manakh) market crisis occurring. The Manakh market was a market for trading in the stock of Gulf companies which fell in the summer of 1982 as a result of imaginary and irrational speculation.

It has become clear that the solutions imposed and carried out by Minister of Petroleum and Finance, Shaykh 'Ali al-Khalifah al-Sabah, to end the crisis of the Manakh stock market whose volume was \$92 billion, were ideal in that they undid knots which according to some economists were impossible to undo, but on the other hand they led to increased economic stagnation.

In fact, the stagnation was expected by those who worked at solving the stock market crisis, for no matter how the solutions came about or were agreed upon, they would be at the expense of the dynamism of the Kuwaiti economy; in fact the Manakh stock market itself, as several company board chairmen admit, was essentially at the expense of the Kuwaiti economy. For that reason the pertinent authorities opposed it and fought against it until it was recognized in 1980. The market was strengthened after the Gulf cooperation agreement, when many began to believe that it had become a legitimate market. Thus it prospered at the expense of the Kuwaiti stock exchange. People entered it in droves, but got out without a thing in 1982. Of course the market had been a problem, but it would not have been a "tragedy" if not for the mad speculations in which illegal methods were used, such as post-dated rubber checks.

The important thing is that the commotion began when an article appeared in the Kuwaiti newspaper AL-ANBA' warning that the continuing

drop in the stock prices of 48 large companies would affect the Kuwaiti banking system. The newspaper backed up its point of view by publishing statements with figures in which the extent of the drop in stock prices was exposed.

Among the things that the newspaper said was that the loans and facilitations which the banks had poured into the Kuwaiti market totaled 4.173 billion dinars (\$15 billion). Half of these loans consisted of facilitations and mortgages for securities and for companies and individuals who had been unable to make payments on the interest of the loans in addition to the loans themselves. Therefore, the collection of a large portion of them is in doubt, since the total capital and reserves of the banks is only 782 million dinars, and might not be enough to cover the doubtful loans.

The newspaper reported that the value of the companies' shares had fallen by 2.5 billion dinars, of which 600 million dinars constituted the companies' share of those massive losses, and that these companies would have to consider that their capital had decreased because of these massive losses, and that these companies would have to consider that their capital had decreased and consequently was in dire need of being increased.

The reaction of the minister of petroleum and finance, Shayk 'ali al-Khalifah, to the article was to call for an end to such talk, while at the same time he prepared another statement which demonstrated in figures the strength of the Kuwaiti economy. However on the whole he neither confirmed nor denied the extent to which the banks had been affected by the occurrence of the fall in the companies' stock prices or by the occurrence of the severe economic recession. The severity of the "Suq al-Manakh" and recession problems is enough to have an effect on the circumstances of Kuwaiti banks, but at the same time these banks are considered among the strongest financial institutions in the world, especially since the state of Kuwait with its huge financial reserves stands behind them.

Therefore, Arab and Kuwaiti banking circles were confident of the health of Kuwaiti banks, but the commotion which arose over what seemed to be was intended to put pressure on the Kuwaiti Government to return to the floor of the stock market and to buy what it could in order to raise stock prices again. It is clear that this is a new game aimed at raising stock prices and bringing back speculation, but in its rational forms.

What motivates the "stock lobby" to apply pressure is that the circumstances in the region, specifically the Gulf war and the tanker war and other things that go along with it, in addition to the constant decline in the world oil market, are negative factors which do not benefit the Kuwaiti stock exchange or stock prices, whether in the long term or the short term.

The annual report of the Central Bank of Kuwait says that Kuwaiti oil production fell last May and June as a direct result of the Gulf war and the attacks by Iran on neutral ships in the Gulf.

The Central Bank says that the income of non-petroleum sectors fell sharply by 450 million dinars (\$1.5 billion) as a result of the drop in exports to Arab countries, especially Iraq, and as a result of the fall in the transit trade.

There is another factor which has caused shareholders to go crazy, and that is the new regulations introduced into stock trading, making trading subject to strict control. No longer are shareholders able to raise their prices to God knows where, or write rubber checks or other things. Specifically, investment in stocks has become so restricted that a shareholder must expect returns of around 8 percent in annual profits instead of hoping for a price explosion that would transport him from the square of those of limited income to the square of millionaires.

Here it should be mentioned that the Manakh stock market was finally liquidated and its 42 outlets closed, and its brokers were barred from working unless they had a license and were under state control and monitoring. At the same time that the Manakh stock market was closed, the government opened the new Kuwaiti stock exchange building, which cost \$54 million to build in the heart of Kuwait's financial and banking district.

When the building opened, the demand for stock purchases was weak and not worth mentioning compared to what the situation had been 2 years ago. Kuwaiti stockholders can trade shares of Kuwaiti and some Gulf companies through modern systems set up by the president of the stock exchange. Mr Khalid al-Hazafi, which in effect abolishes blind trading in stocks. In order for a company to put its stock on the market, it must pay 10,000 dinars as an annual subscription fee. As for the broker, he must present a bank security worth a million Kuwaiti dinars, and brokers are no longer allowed to operate independently, but rather under the auspices of companies answerable to the law and that promise annual arbitrage.

One of the plans for the new stock exchange, for which the ordinance allowing its organization was issued last summer, is to allow Arab investors to buy stock in Kuwaiti companies, trading in which is currently limited to Kuwaitis.

Regulation of trading operations came after two experiences: the first was in 1977 when stock prices of Kuwaiti companies fell and forced the government to intervene at the appropriate time to buy shares within specified limits. However, the Kuwaiti stock crisis was in no way comparable to the Manakh stock market crisis, which was the second experience which compelled the Kuwaiti to regulate

trading operations regardless of the consequences. But regulation will provide unlimited confidence in the future of the stock of Kuwaiti and even Gulf companies, as Mr Khalid al-Hazafi believes, so there will be no going back from trading regulation under pressure from the "stock lobby."

Since the Kuwaiti Government believes that the current crisis, which the newspapers are warning about, is an economic crisis and not one of falling stock prices, it has formed a committee headed by the minister of finance and petroleum, Shaykh 'Ali al-Khalifah, whose task it is to come up with economic solutions to the crisis by the first week of next February at the latest. The committee is comprised of 20 personalities, including the governor of the Central Bank of Kuwait and a number of officials and board chairmen of the large investment companies and some university professors. The committee will concentrate its its studies most specifically on the following sectors: banks, shares, real estate, and construction.

Thus people in Kuwait are again looking for solutions, which it is hoped will renew confidence in everything, including companies' stock.

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KUWAIT

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS DUE TO RECESSION EXAMINED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 248, 10-16 Nov 84 p 39

/Article: "Is Kuwait Going Through an Economic Crisis?"

/Text/ Some economic circles in Kuwait expect that the Kuwaiti economy will be afflicted with a new convulsion at the end of the year when the budgets of the companies and banks begin to be published. These circles expect that will happen under the influence of a fall in profits of a large number of companies as a result of the decline in the price of shares which represent a large portion of the financial reserves of these companies. Observers note that even though settlements were reached regarding the greater portion of the debts of the "Suq al-Manakh," and even though a large part of those debts were converted to monetary bonds, the amounts that were put into bonds did not play any role in activating the stock market or in activating the market. That is what confirms the prevailing belief that the inclination towards investment and economy within the country has become extremely limited and that most money is gradually being exported. That has hurt the banks, whose task has become changing dinars to dollars, not holding the dinars, which is to blame for the liquidity crisis in the Kuwaiti dinar; most of its deposits are taken to the Central Bank to be exchanged for dollars or other foreign currency.

At the same time, the demand for loans for investment purposes is not brisk because of the general state of stagnation that is assailing the market.

AL-MAJALLAH has learned that the committee formed recently by the Kuwaiti cabinet to stimulate the national economy and to review aspects of banking activity, the securities, market, the real estate market, and the contracts sector, will begin its work shortly. The committee will review previous reports that were prepared by the chamber of commerce, the ministerial technical committee, and the Central Bank. They are a group of reports which reviewed in detail the economic crisis and the recession, and made a number of key proposals to stimulate the pace of the economy, but their proposals have so far not seen the light of day.

It is known that this new ministerial committee, which includes two ministers, the minister of finance and petroleum and the minister of trade, as well as representatives of four ministries and four banks, and represents the chamber of commerce, the league, and a number of companies--this committee is number three after the chamber of commerce committee which stopped work last February, and the technical committee formed by the cabinet and which stopped work last March. Both studied the same issue, the recession crisis.

#### Forms of the Recession

The recession has taken a number of forms, foremost of which are:

First--a drop in share prices as a result of the lack of confidence in the securities market and the anticipation of a "Suq al-Manakh" crisis resulting from it and a fall in company profits included in the securities market. Economic sources estimate the profits of these companies to be 120 million dinars in 1983, the last figures available, compared to 248 million dinars in 1982. It is expected that these numbers will fall to the point of losses this year.

Also, according to the figures published on the condition of shares, the big drop that occurred in the price of shares during this year is estimated to be 46.8 percent compared to the price in December of last year, and it is what shakes the financial centers of many of the investors and reflects on their various decisions.

Secondly--shrinkage of the construction and real estate sectors. Even though the state's budget for 1983/84, the prime mover of construction activity, increased its credits over the previous year by 14 percent, activity of the private sector recorded a decrease of 30 percent in the number of licenses being issued in 1983, and it also recorded a decrease in the demand for credit facilitations necessary for activity. At the same time, rent receipts for private residences and commercial receipts fell by 25-30 percent, and the number of vacant apartments were 8,332 last February, and of those 6,424 were luxury apartments. For that reason, rent increases have stopped and rents have begun to fall slightly in some areas, and that reflects on new investments at the end of this year.

Thirdly--shrinkage of the commercial sector for a number of reasons, among them the state of anxiety that grips all employers and employees, the expectation by many employees that their jobs will end or that their wages will be frozen, a halt to the increase in calling for new wages, and the failure to resume exports to other Arab countries, especially Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, which had been major markets before the outbreak of the Gulf war. But according to estimates by the chamber of commerce, the value of imports in 1983 fell by 15 percent compared to the previous year, while the value of exports to Arab countries fell by 45 percent.

Fourthly--the industrial sector, the third in the GDP after oil and commerce, has not escaped the wave of reductions. While the number of new licenses fell from 37 in 1981 to 18 last year, which was reflected in construction activity in 1984, figures recorded a fall in the share of industries actually in existence in GDP. The amount of this share, in current prices was, 6,218 billion dinars in 1983, compared to 7.451 billion dinars in 1980.

#### Growth of the Budget

Concerning the reasons, the chamber of commerce believes that the crisis in the securities market, though a factor, is not the only reason for the problem. The Arab situation, starting from the Gulf war to the war in Lebanon, and the lack of stability in the region do not provide a favorable climate for investment, so the expansion which the Gulf region saw following the rise in oil prices in 1974 had to end after the region's installations reached the point of saturation. In addition, there was a fall in oil revenues, which according to statistics of the Central Bank had comprised 67.7 percent of GDP in 1980, but only 49.9 percent last year; in other words, oil revenue has come to represent half the GDP instead of what it was previously, when it reached more than a third as published. Figures indicate that the drop in oil products in the GDP has reached 2 billion dinars in 3 years, going from 5.062 billion dinars to 3.094 billion dinars.

That is reflected in the rate of growth in public expenditures by the government. After this growth reached 44 percent in 1981 and 1982, it fell to zero during the last 2 years, at a time when growth rates in monetary liquidity were falling, as were facilitations given by the banks, and private sector and bank deposits. Of course that clearly affected the volume of economic activity. And while the chamber of commerce believes that what is happening in the Kuwaiti economy is not a passing weakness that calls for temporary and exceptional measures, and while it believes that the solution must be radical and employ a new strategy for advancement centered on scientific planning, at the same time the technical committee, which was formed by the cabinet and which includes the ministries of finance, planning, and trade, and the Central Bank, does not believe in the traditional solution, which is to increase government spending to create employment opportunities to stimulate demand and consumption. The committee bases its point of view on the fact that there are unused resources within the economy, and that final consumption has reached a level that should not be further increased, and that the goal of creating employment opportunities should be looked at in the light of population politics aimed at limiting population increase through immigration. The committee made eight recommendations, foremost of which are:

- The need to control public spending and direct it according to planned development needs, and not according to getting revenues to make up a lack.

- Taking measures to limit anxiety, expectation and anticipation.
- Giving impetus to the production sectors and directing government demand towards the local market, whether in regard to industry, construction, trade or contracts, and employing surplus production resources.
- Taking regulatory measures in the economy sector, encouraging like companies and establishments to merge, and encouraging citizens to work productively, after demand for jobs and investment in securities have increased, in addition to direct income from productive work.

In these proposals put forward by the technical committee and the chamber of commerce, a tendency towards demanding more government intervention in directing the economy is seen, to the point that the technical committee had demanded the setting up of tariff barriers and the imposition of duty on some imports that are similar to local products as part of a policy of flooding. Economic circles are awaiting the outcome of OPEC meetings, which might decide to keep oil supplies at their present level or bring them down to a new level because of the price reduction, which Kuwait opposes, or to lower production, which producing nations might be forced to do to maintain prices.

And while some Kuwaiti newspapers indicated that the banks that had given huge loans to the Manakh investors might suffer shocks that could threaten their financial positions, the prevailing belief in Kuwait that the government would not allow any bank to become bankrupt or suffer a huge shock that would affect confidence in the banking system.

A study is now going on on the possibility of stimulating the market through new government spending by way of improving and maintaining or expanding apartments which bring in rents to the government, and vacating and tearing down houses which have been wasteful to the government for years and for which measures have not been taken.

At the same time, it is expected that commercial activity will revive a little during November in view of the price reductions during the sales season, which occurs twice a year in Kuwait, at the beginning of winter as the start of a new work year, and at the beginning of summer just before teachers' and employees' vacations.

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SAUDI ARABIA

MOVES TO GET ARAB CONSENSUS OF GULF WAR DISCUSSED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 76, 22 Sep 84 p 15

/Article by Husayn Karim: "Regional Obsession with Gulf War Moves Saudis to Act; Riyadh Seeks to Mobilize Turks for Gulf Peace; Queries Damascus on Iran's Position"

/Text/ Western observations centers are interested in recent intensive Gulf and Arab communication, the center of which is Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, aimed at eliminating Arab differences before the Arab summit which is to be held in Riyadh in November.

These communications are taking place in an atmosphere of change, a situation which increases the importance of the meetings.

A casual observer became aware of these activities during the past few days, which, according to some designated sources, appear to indicate preparation for some "card shuffling," in itself an introduction of new equations. In part, however, according to other sources, these activities appear to be directed toward what can be termed "falling dues" that must be confronted on the spot and contained before they become permanent facts.

In the Gulf, two noteworthy events have taken place recently: the first, a visit to Turkey and Damascus by Saudi Crown Prince and Deputy Prime Minister 'Abdallah bin 'Abd al-'Aziz, and second, the meeting in Abha of ministers of defense and foreign affairs of the states of the Cooperative Council.

These events take on importance because of the feeling of instability in the Gulf due to the Iraqi-Iranian war. With that in mind, Saudi-Turkish talks are particularly important for several reasons: the transformation of relations between Riyadh and Ankara, which are joined by a defense agreement concluded in February 1984 from passive to active; and the urging of a more significant Turkish role in the Gulf War, including the possibility of exerting effort, both Islamic and European, on Iran to accept a peaceful solution.

The Saudi Crown Prince's visit to Ankara came, therefore, to influence Turkey to abandon its aloofness from the conflict for the past 4 years and to underscore the importance of the excellent Turkish-European relations, hence, extracting the Iraqi-Iranian war from the orbits of Moscow and Washington.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher, West German's Minister of Foreign Affairs, who visited Iran last August, alluded to the possible importance of the Gulf Cooperative Council in stabilizing the Gulf region, stating that Bonn's government would undertake a new initiative to strengthen relations between the Common Market and the Cooperative Council.

Some Western sources linked Genscher's statement and Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Ozal's visit to Bonn early this month to the Israeli campaign against West Germany on the pretext that Israel feared the possibility of West German Leopard tanks being produced in cooperation with Turkey and Saudi Arabia. Israel knows more than anyone that this possibility does not enter Saudi concern, but that to focus on it may avert any potential rapprochement between the three states.

Saudi sources believe that Israel's campaign has a different purpose and relates, instead, to its fear the Riyadh intends to persuade Ankara to shift its weight in the Gulf war.

It is true that the Saudi Crown Prince's visit to Syria differs from his visit to Turkey in terms of substance and consequence, nevertheless, both had the same aim: to neutralize the Syrian role, not only in the Gulf war, but also with regard to Palestinian, Jordanian, Iraqi and Lebanese situations.

The importance of the Crown Prince's visit to Syria, therefore, to a casual observer, may be because it came after the Iranian President, Ali Khamene'i, had visited Damascus. It is understandable that Saudi Arabia inquire about Khamene'i's conversations from Syria, especially as they relate to the Gulf war, to find out about what may be new in Damascus in this regard.

The meeting of the Cooperative Council in Abha, the second event, was said by 'Abdallah Y'acub Bisharah, the secretary general of the Gulf Cooperative Council, to define the implications of collective responsibility in as far as it relates to the preservation of independence and security of the member states for the first time in the history of the region.

What is known is that defensive strategy was discussed at the meeting and will be reported upon at the fifth session of the Cooperative Council's executive committee which will take place in November in Kuwait.

Saudi activities, however, were not limited to the Gulf's interest. Indeed, Arab interests were the center of recent Saudi communications with Arab states for the purpose of conveying preparatory meetings between Arab leaders to insure the success of the Arab summit in Riyadh.

Informed Arab sources reported to AL-TADAMUN that Saudi contacts have been successful in overcoming many of the hurdles which prevented the Arab summit from taking place in 1983.

The same sources report that more than one Arab state expressed support for a conciliatory summit which would facilitate a unified Arab stand in the face of the American administration's intense consultations between White House and

State Department officials on the one hand, and members of Congress on the other, over the question of moving the American Embassy to Jerusalem.

Arab States informed the American administration that an American decision favoring the relocation of the American Embassy to Jerusalem would be opposed, and Saudi diplomacy, informing the American President through many channels of the dangers likely to reflect on American-Arab relations, acknowledges that the White House is likely to succumb to Zionist pressure in the absence of Arab pressure. For this reason, Saudi Arabia is seeking a unified Arab and Islamic stand regarding this potentially dangerous matter, especially the American weakness during a period of presidential campaigning exemplified in the American veto in the Security Council of a resolution based on Lebanese complaints, which Arab observation centers see as a signal to Israel to avail itself of the opportunity of the moment to extract a favorable decision regarding the movement of the American Embassy to Jerusalem.

Within this context, informed political sources believe that Saudi activity will increase so as to arrive at even minimal understanding among Arab and Islamic interests to confront what can be termed as "basket of phases" beginning with the new Israeli Government phase, passing through the post-American election phase, and ending with changes-of-desinty phase in the Arab arena.

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SAUDI ARABIA

RESULTS OF 'ABDALLAH'S TRIP TO TURKEY

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 395, 15 Sep 84 p 15

/Article: "Gulf War Is Focus of Prince 'Abdallah's Conversation in Turkey"

/Text/ Jiddah. Official Turkish and Saudi media followed with interest the visit of Crown Prince and Commander of the Saudi National Guard 'Abdallah bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz to Turkey which ended last Thursday. This visit was undertaken to strengthen relations between Riyadh and Ankara, which have witnessed reciprocal visits from high officials for almost a year. The last such visit was made by the Turkish minister of defense to Jiddah last July which followed a similar visit by Turkish President Kenan Evren to Riyadh last February.

Actually, Prince 'Abdallah's visit to Ankara came as a reflection of the strength of Saudi-Turkish relations and the extent of their improvement since Kenan Evren assumed the presidency of Turkey. The Turkish position vis-a-vis the Gulf war added to the strength of the relations between Turkey and Saudi Arabia due to Turkish efforts to contain that war, owing to its influence on Iran because of their common border.

Turkey tried quietly to participate in initiating a dialogue between Baghdad Tehran and some of the capitals of the Gulf. The latest of these attempts was the visit by Turkish Prime Minister Ozal to Tehran last month. From this standpoint, political observers look with interest at the visit of Crown Prince to Ankara because it follows Ozal's visit to Iran last month. In spite of the fact that the official Turkish and Saudi media did not refer to this topic except to say: "The Saudi-Turkish talks deal with conditions in the Gulf." However, political observers confirm that the discussions dealt with Turkish communications with Tehran's government. Some of the observers mentioned that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is indeed interested in reviving the Islamic Good Offices Committee; since Turkey is a member of this committee, Prince 'Abdallah must certainly have been aware of Tehran's position on the possibility of renewing efforts by the Islamic Mediation Committee. This topic was discussed by the Turkish Prime Minister with officials in Tehran.

In addition, political observers noted with deep interest the participation of the Saudi Minister of Communications and Transport, Husayn al-Mansuri, in Prince 'Abdallah's conversations in Turkey, and linked this participation to Iraq's interest in constructing a new oil pipeline across Turkey similar to the one

crossing Jordan to the port of 'Aqabah, which faces "American difficulties," whereas Saudi Arabia is interested in seeing Iraq capable of exporting its oil production so as to be able to bear the cost of the war that it is waging against Iran.

In addition to the two topics of Turkish contacts with Tehran and the Iraqi pipeline across Turkey, the Crown Prince's discussions in Turkey dealt with the matters of regularizing bilateral relations between Riyadh and Ankara in addition to the subject of Turkish workers whose numbers are steadily growing in Saudi Arabia to the point that the latest figure has reached approximately 100,000. In this regard, the Saudi Minister of Labor Muhammad al-Fa'iz held talks with his Turkish counterpart to regulate the situation of the Turkish workforce in Saudi Arabia.

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SAUDI ARABIA

GERMAN ENGINEERING, CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS EXAMINED

Activities of Engineering Firms

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG/BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT in German 15 Nov 84 p 2

[Article by W. An.: "German Engineering Firms Are Active in Saudi Arabia-- Called in on Planning, Maintenance and Construction of Important Installations"]

[Text] Saudi Arabia, which can afford to finance expensive development projects even after the cutbacks in oil production, offers a rich field of activity for German engineering consulting firms. In recent days they landed important orders, especially in the expansion of the infrastructure (energy and water supply, transport and telecommunications) and in the field of city planning and industrial settlements. Some have formed joint enterprises with Saudi Arabian partners.

The firm of Lahmeyer International GmbH, Frankfurt, was entrusted with consulting tasks in the area of energy supply for expansion of the gas turbine power plant Jiddah III and enlargement of the gas turbine power plant in Mecca. The firm, one of the largest German engineering consulting firms with about 1,000 employees, was called in on the network expansion (110 kilovolts) in Medina, and also on a similar project in the area of Jiddah-Mecca-Taif (380, 110 and 11 kilovolts). It also received an order to prepare a study on electricity supply for Ummluj.

Consulectra Unternehmungsberatung GmbH, Hamburg, was charged with construction supervision of the network in Buraydah and was included in putting into operation the thermal power plant at Al Khobar. It also assumed consultation tasks for maintenance of the 380/110 kilovolt network. The firm of Dipl -Ing Kling Ingenieurbuero fuer Bauwesen (Kling Consult), Krumbach/Swabia, was given the order for an opinion on the construction site for the power plant at Al Khobar and the desalinization installations located there. Kling Consult were also called in on the expansion of the mill installation in Jiddah.

The firm of Fichtner Beratende Ingenieure GmbH & Co, Stuttgart, which has some 450 employees, received an important consulting call from the Saline Water Conversion Corporation (SWCC) for energy and water supply in the area

of Mecca-Taif. To carry out this order, the firm's offices in Riyadh and Jiddah must be significantly enlarged. Fichtner Beratende Ingenieure is also engaged in the extension of the power plant complex Al Khobar, where additional desalinization plants for seawater are to be built. It was also called in on the electrification of the area of Hail and on a project for the use of solar energy. Fichtner Beratende Ingenieure performs technical assistance in the industrial complex of Yanbu.

Beller Consult GmbH, Freiburg (Breisgau), as a consortium partner accepted preparation of a study on sewage, drainage and artificial irrigation in Khashm al Aa. AHT Agrar- und Hydrotechnik GmbH, Essen, was entrusted with consulting tasks in an agricultural project for artificial irrigation of fields in Aflaj. In June 1984, ACI Aqua Project Consult Ingenieurgesellschaft mbH, Siegen, together with the local firm Al-Sebaie received an order valued at 13.6 million Saudi-Rials (1 Saudi-Rial = about DM 0.78) for construction supervision of a water pipeline 386 km long from Jubail to Riyadh.

The Rhein-Ruhr Ingenieur-Gesellschaft mbH (RRI), Dortmund, obtained several orders in the road construction area. They are the following projects: highway Shugaya, highway Abha Descent, highway Zahran-Al Khobar, and implementation planning of access roads. As a member of a consortium, RRI is also active in developing the diplomatic quarter in the capital, Riyadh, and was consulted in the construction of the German embassy. Speerplan GmbH, Frankfurt/Main, was also engaged in the construction of the diplomatic quarter. They have increased their personnel there for high-rise construction sites. Speerplan GmbH also carried out extensive planning for the summer-residence city of Taif.

The planning bureau Obermeyer Gesellschaft fuer Planungen im Bauwesen mbH, Munich, was put in charge of supervising road construction in Riyadh. G.E.R.I. Consult GmbH, Frankfurt/Main, a subsidiary company of Philipp Holzmann AG, was engaged in road planning for communications installations. It also performed the bulk computations for the sports stadium in Riyadh. The AEW Plan GmbH, Essen, was called in for the technical over-all development of the government center. BFB Braunschweig Consult Braunschweiger Beratungsbuero fuer Baubetrieb GmbH, Braunschweig, was also entrusted with consulting tasks in Riyadh.

The company of Dr -Ing Walter GmbH & Co KG International (DIWI), Essen, with about 300 employees, was also given consulting tasks for the building of the construction ministry with the materials testing office. It was also entrusted, as a consortium partner, with the construction supervision of the Al Karch Housing II project. Weidleplan Consulting GmbH, Stuttgart, advises on interior finishing work of the National Bank and in the construction of a commercial center.

The German Telepost Consulting GmbH (Detecon), Bonn, a subsidiary of the German Federal Post and of large German banks, is engaged in the area of telecommunications. For more than 3 years, Detecon has been operating and

managing the entire Saudi Arabian telex network via a local affiliated company (Detecon Al-Saudi-Detasad). It was also called in on the planning for expansion of the Saudi Arabian telex network and a project concerning the setting up of a telephone and telex network at the new industrial site of Yanbu on the Red Sea.

With regard to industry, the Assmann group, Braunschweig-Munich, was charged with preparing a planning study for an industrial installation, and FRU-Kronberg Unternehmensberatung GmbH, Kronberg, with a study on promoting small industries. As a consortium partner, FGU-Kronberg was also engaged to prepare a market study of electrical equipment. Integral Berater und Planer GmbH, Duesseldorf, was given consulting tasks for the construction of an axle factory for trucks, and was hired to prepare a study on workshops and warehouses.

The engineering office Fritz Spieth Beratende Ingenieure, Esslinger, within the framework of a consortium, was included in the infrastructure planning of the industrial cities of Asir and Medina, and the Deutsche Beratungsgesellschaft fuer Salinentechnik mbH (DBS), Mainhausen, did consulting work on the preparation of gold ore. Planco Consulting GmbH, Essen-Hamburg, was charged with preparing a study on cable production as well as a market study on construction machinery. HPC Hamburg Port Consulting GmbH, Hamburg, was contracted for consulting work on the construction of a workshop and warehouse complex in Jubail. Rogge Marine Consulting GmbH, Bremen-Bremerhaven, was awarded two contracts for port consultation work in Jubail. WPW Beratende Ingenieure, Saarbruecken, took on consultation tasks for the construction of workers' quarters in Duba and Haq.

Business involvement in Saudi Arabia is not without risks. In early 1982, BC Berlin Consult GmbH, Berlin, half of whose ordinary capital of DM 15 million is held by the government of West Berlin, was brought to the brink of bankruptcy because of a large Saudi Arabian construction project. Although the project (DM 260 million) near Riyadh has been finished in the meantime, there are still conflicts about the terms of payment. So far, BC Berlin has been unsuccessful in collecting even part of the disputed outstanding debts of 106 million Rials as well as additional claims. Meanwhile, the Saudi Arabian side has made a concrete offer which, however, falls far short of the stated claims.

The Haeussler group, Stuttgart, active in the office field, obtained in the summer of 1984 another important contract in Saudi Arabia through its Swiss subsidiary Globoffice AG, Engineering and Management Consulting, Zurich. In cooperation with a German architectural office, Globoffice AG did the consulting for an organizational analysis as well as the administrative and office space planning of the Finance Ministry in Riyadh.

## Airport Projects

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG/BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT in German  
19 Nov 84 p 2

[Article by W. An.: "Airport Projects in Saudi Arabia --The Projects Concern Primarily Modernization and Expansion of the Installations"]

[Text] Recently, new projects were started up or concluded in Saudi Arabia (also see the report in the issue of 25 November 1983). They mostly concern expansion and modernization of existing regional airports. In future, the latter are to be able to also handle large-capacity aircraft in order to cope with the growing traffic of passengers and freight. Large-capacity aircraft can be used more efficiently than smaller planes. This year, the Presidency of Civil Aviation, which is in charge of the country's airport operations, gave out some 20 contracts for the expansion and modernization of ten airports. The contracts were mostly given to local construction firms. Firms of the industrial nations were called in for engineering consultations concerning the individual projects.

Recently, the British firm of Bovis International was given the project management for the expansion of the Medina airport, which requires an investment of 103 million Saudi Rials (1 Saudi Rial = about DM 0.78). The contract for the construction work went to a Saudi Arabian consortium which consists of the firms Adnan Jabbar Establishment and Thonaeyah Company, both located in Jiddah. The work covers primarily construction of a new control tower, enlargement of the dispatch buildings and subsidiary installations, as well as building of parking places and roads. The South Korean Samwhan Corporation also obtained a contract in the amount of 87.5 million Saudi-Rial for expansion of the runway.

A Dutch firm, Netherlands Airports Consultants B.V. (Naco), The Hague, was included in several airport projects, those in Abha, Tabuk, Qassim and Quarayyat. The contract for expansion of the dispatch buildings at the Abha airport and renewal of various installations was given in May 1984 to the aforementioned consortium of the two local firms, Adnan Jabbar Establishment and Thonaeyah Company. The order for the consortium amounts to 62 million Saudi Rials. The firm Tamimi & Fouad Construction was charged with expansion of the airport in Tabuk (90 million Saudi Rials), which concerns in particular the enlargement of the dispatch building, strengthening the tarmac, and improvement of the runway.

The airport of Qassim, like the Tabuk airport, is to be used by airbuses in future. For this reason, the runway is also being expanded. A consortium of the Al-Rashid Trading & Contracting Company and the Al-Omran group accepted the contract which is worth 41.5 million Saudi Rials. For the construction of buildings, the Beta Company received an order in the amount of more than 60.7 Saudi Rials. In the case of the Qurayyat airport, the local Al-Namal Trading & Contracting Company took on the expansion of the runway (24.7 million Saudi Rials), and the firm of Omar Kassem al-Esayi the enlargement of the terminal and other buildings (48.9 million Saudi Rials).

The Ajzala Trading and Contracting Establishment received an order of 23 million Saudi Rials for extension of the runway at Quaisumah airport. The dispatch building there is being enlarged by a consortium which includes the Turkish firm of Saracoglu Engineering and the local El-Soumhy Establishment. The amount of the consortium's order comes to 43 million Saudi Rials.

Tamini & Fouad Construction, already mentioned in the Tabuk airport project, has taken on lengthening, reinforcing and widening of the runway at the Rafha airport (a total of 31 million Saudi Rials). The El-Soumhy/Saracoglu consortium in Rhafa received the contract (44 million Saudi Rials) for the construction of additional buildings. For the airport at Turaif, the domestic firm Talaq Constrcting & Trading was given the expansion of the runway (20 million Saudi Rials), and the previously mentioned Ajzala Trading & Contracting Establishment was awarded the construction of buildings (45 million Saudi Rials). The Lebanese firm of Katib & Alami was entrusted with consluting tasks for the airport projects at Quaisumah, Rafha and Turaif.

This firm also received the consulting order for the enlargement of the Sharoura airport, where the Saudi Arabian firm Al-Mabani General Contractors is widening the runway for 39 million Saudi Rials. In addition, the domestic firm Al-Esayi was awarded the construction of several buildings at the airport (55 million Saudi Rials).

In 1983, Hochtief AG, Essen, which had been significantly involved in the construction of the large International Airport in Jiddah, managed to land additional orders for this airport. The maintenance and repair contract for a partial area of the airport was expanded. Standard Elektrik Lorenz AG (SEL), Stuttgart, managed to get significant orders for its production sector SEL-systems service in Saudi Arabia.

#### Railway Projects

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG/BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT in German  
27 Nov 84 p 2

[Article by W. An.: "New Railroad Projects in Saudi Arabia--German Firms Are Participating in Several Projects"]

[Text] After the costly extension of the road and airport network, which has recently linked up all larger towns of this country of 2.1 million square kilometers, the building of railroad lines is now being planned. Within the framework of the new Saudi Arabian 5-year plan (1985 to 1990), an extension of the lines from the present 566 kilometers to about 3,000 km is being planned. Through the first large new project nearing completion, the new routing of the railroad connection--the only one so far between the capital of Riyadh and the port city of Dammam on the Persian Gulf--will shorten the distance from 566 km to 440 km. In the new routing, which permits a maximum speed of 250 km/hr, the latest know-how of modern railroad technology was applied. The Italian enterprise Technital was contracted as the engineering consulting firm.

The first section of the new twin track route between Dammam and the oasis town of Hofuf is to be completed before the end of 1984. The start-up of operations on the longest section between Hofuf and Riyadh is planned for the coming year. At present, new modern railroad stations are being built in Riyadh, Dammam and Hofuf. The orders for delivery of rolling stock have already been placed. The U.S. firm of General Motors and the French enterprise Francorail took on delivery of a total of 27 locomotives. In addition, 40 passenger cars were ordered from the FRG and France. Also, the number of freight cars is to be increased by 588 units, about 300 of them flat cars for container transport. Total costs for construction of the new Riyadh-Dammam route were estimated at \$1.5 billion.

Ferrostaal AG, Essen, received the order for 20 passenger cars in the amount of about \$15 million. The contract concluded at the end of June 1984 comprised 10 second class cars, three first-class cars, three dining cars, and three combination generator and luggage cars. Within the framework of this project, MAN Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nuernberg built the chassis work, and Waggon Union GmbH, Siegen-Berlin, a Thyssen enterprise, provided the fittings in Berlin.

The state Saudi Railway Organization (SRO) is in charge of development and operation of the Saudi Arabian railroad network. Their plan to extend the route Riyadh-Dammam by 100 km to Jubail has already been approved. In the industrial city of Jubail, the new large industrial complexes are also to be linked to the railroad network. Of particular importance will be the construction of the railroad line (75 km long) which will connect Jiddah with the holy city of Mecca and which is to serve, above all, for the transportation of pilgrims. This would greatly alleviate the transport of large groups of pilgrims. The present system of bus transport has already led to over-taxing of the highway system. At present, feasibility studies are being prepared for the construction of railroad connections between Riyadh and Jidda, and a further route to Mecca and Medina.

The reconstruction of the Hejaz railroad, shut down during World War I because of heavy damage, has been postponed. A consortium of German firms, which included Dorsch Consult Ingenieurgesellschaft mbH, Munich, Deutsche Eisenbahn Consulting GmbH (DEC), Frankfurt, and Hansa Luftbild GmbH, Muenster, were contracted to work out a comprehensive study for the new construction of the Hejaz railroad from Damascus to Medina (1600 km). Between 1980-81, the consortium also prepared a preliminary draft for the new construction. Getting the Hejaz railroad back into operation would need an investment of about \$4 billion. Should the project, which lies in the hands of the Supreme Commission for the Hejaz Railway, be realized, the route would then be extended to Jidda or Riyadh.

During the past year, the British engineering consulting firm Transmark, a subsidiary of British Railway, was charged by the Gulf Cooperation Council with preparing a feasibility study for the construction of 1,600 km of railroad line which is to go from Basra, Iraq, to Muscat in the Sultanate of Oman via Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. This railway route could connect up with the European railroad network via Turkey.

The Riyadh Railway Customs Terminal (RCT), built by Heilit and Woerner Bau-AG, Munich, a container train station with its own customs offices, is of great importance for freight transport on the already existing railway route between Riyadh and Dammam. Customers in the capital area receive containers from the port of Dammam, duty unpaid, via this railroad station, where customs clearance is handled more efficiently. The container service was opened in 1981 and had a turnover of 14,700 containers during the first year after operation had begun. During the second year, the turnover was already 32,000, and this year an increase to 63,000 units is expected. Recently, the SRO announced that it will expand the operational area of the container railway station from 650,000 to more than 800,000 square meters.

#### Record Foreign Trade Surplus

According to official statements, Taiwan attained a record foreign trade surplus of \$7.38 billion during the first ten months of 1984. It was 74 percent higher than the amount registered during the same period in 1983. The statistics show that the trade exchange with the United States resulted in a surplus of \$8.44 billion, compared with \$5.47 billion during the first ten months of 1983. By contrast, the deficit with Japan rose from \$2.39 billion to \$2.66 billion. Taiwan's trade exchange rose by 19.6 percent to \$43.9 billion during January to October. Exports rose to \$25.64 billion (up 25.3 percent), imports to \$18.26 billion (up 15.5 percent). Almost half of the exports (\$12.62 billion) went to the United States. Japan purchased products for \$2.675 billion, Hongkong for \$1.698 billion. Imports from Japan amounted to \$5.34 billion (29.2 percent of total imports), from the United States \$4.18 billion (22.9 percent), and from Saudi Arabia \$1.57 billion (8.6 percent).

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CSO: 4620/13

AFGHANISTAN

SAUDI REGIME REPORTEDLY SUPPORTING MUJAHIDIN

Kabul ANIS in Dari 3 Dec 84 pp 2, 4

[Text] Each day that passes further unmasks the enemies of the Sawr revolution and makes more plain the true face of Afghanistan's criminal counterrevolution. Today it is no secret that Afghanistan's counterrevolution, which donned its mask amidst demagogic slogans of "Islam" and "freedom," is no more than a dirty tool in the hand of imperialism, led by U.S. imperialism and regional reaction. It is now clear that were it not for the support of imperialism and reaction affiliated with it in the region, whether Pakistan's militarists, Pekings hegemonists, or the reactionaries of Iran, Saudi Arabia and Egypt, for the Afghan counterrevolution, our revolution's enemies would not be able to stand a moment under the decisive blows of our fighting armed forces. The reason for the continued activity of the criminal counterrevolution in our country is truly hidden in the flood of weapons and dollars flowing across the oceans by the region's reactionaries and regimes affiliated with imperialism to Pakistan. With these the counterrevolutionary mercenary bands arm and equip themselves, and are sent across the "border" to carry out hostile activities against our revolution inside our country.

One of the black links in the anti-Afghan criminal operations is Arab reaction, specifically the affiliated Saudi Arabian regime. This regime, which is affiliated with U.S. imperialism to its very bones, has a traitorous role in providing funds to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries and equipping, arming and training them. Saudi Arabia is a partner to the crime of U.S. imperialism and all of history's evil forces in combating the Sawr revolution in Afghanistan. The Saudi Arabian regime has so far given hundreds of millions of dollars to the Afghan counterrevolution.

Some time ago 'Abdullah bin 'Abdul'aziz, crown prince of Saudi Arabia, visited camps of the Afghan counterrevolutionaries in Naser Bagh Camp in Peshawar, and explained that he had given \$80 million in aid to the Afghan counterrevolution and now was ready to give them the "gift" of another \$16 million.

Recently important documents have reached us in which leaders of the Afghan counterrevolutionary bands request more aid through the Saudi Arabian embassy in Pakistan and by letters directly addressed to Saudi Arabian authorities. These documents also reveal Saudi Arabia's role in organizing Afghan counterrevolutionary activities and the efforts by leaders of the counterrevolutionary

groups to move closer to the Saudi Arabian regime. In the documents obtained leaders of the counterrevolutionary groups confess their signal defeats in the country, including those in Jaji Meidan and Khust, and suggest getting more weapons to use against the lives and property of our country's hard-working people in order to make up for their defeats.

In one of the letters, signed by Sobghatullah Mojaddadi, head of the so-called Union of Afghan Mojahedin!!, addressed to the Saudi Arabian ambassador, we read: "...Recently our weapons cache in the (Teri Mangal) region...was blown up. Thus our forces are suffering from a lack of weapons and ammunition. Thus our forces do not have the strength to confront the enemy. We ask you to inform your government so that our difficulty in this regard can be eliminated."

In another letter signed by Golbadin Hekmatyar, leader of the so-called Islamic Party of Afghanistan, again addressed to the Saudi Arabian ambassador to Pakistan, we find: "It is necessary for me to tell you that the combat forces of 'Abdurrasul Sayyaf in the Jaji Meidan region and Khust Wolesswali are fleeing from our enemies, the reason being the scarcity of heavy weapons. Although our forces were strong prior to this. We ask you to aid us from the heavy weapons standpoint so that we can achieve success in the great and important matter of Jaji Meidan, which is an important region from the strategic viewpoint."

In this fashion the mercenary leaders of the counterrevolutionary bands request more help from their mercenary patrons in Saudi Arabia. They confess to their shameful defeats and wish to compensate for them by obtaining more weapons. Other documents expose the role of Saudi Arabia in organizing intervention against the DRA, and in sending military advisors to train counterrevolutionary groups, thus taking a direct part in aggression against the DRA. In a letter from Barhanuddin Rabani, another traitorous counterrevolutionary leader, addressed to 'Z. bin Faruq in Saudi Arabia, we read: "According to the order you gave us, we got information from our mission in Iran and delivered it to your esteemed ambassador in Pakistan... We hope that this intelligence will be cause for satisfaction."

In another letter written by the traitorous counterrevolutionary leader Mulavi Mohammad Nabi, we read: "We have received your aid, which contained material... Unfortunately it must be said that our guerrillas do not understand how to use it. We request that you send us one of your advisors who is familiar with the above, thus aiding our mojahedin in using it..". In another letter written by yet another counterrevolutionary mercenary by the name of Mevlana Jalaluddin "Haqqani," addressed to the Saudi Arabian ambassador to Pakistan it is noted that: "...However your advisor agrees with the opinion of our mojahed brother Yunes Khales, who wants to send most of the weapons that reached us from your country to the province of Nangarhar, while these weapons really are the share of Hadram Province. Thus we expect that Your Excellency had been advised of the matter, and that we will succeed, God willing, in implementing the plan.."

Another letter, written by 'Abdurrasul Sayyaf, another counterrevolutionary criminal, to the Saudi Arabian ambassador to Pakistan, complains about another group and asks the ambassador to understand the "reason for our failure," in this way proving his loyalty to his reactionary patron.

There are also two other letters among these documents. In one of them the need for a doctor from Saudi Arabia who is familiar with that country's medicine is raised, since the previous doctor has died. This shows that the Saudi Arabian regime's role in intervening in the DRA's internal affairs goes beyond supplying weapons, sending advisors and organizing aggression against our country. The other letter illuminates the fate of weapons from Saudi Arabia. It is an interesting letter written by a counterrevolutionary to 'Abdulrasul Sayyaf, giving a report on the results of a transaction which is commonly called "weapons smuggling." The letter reads: "In the tribal regions we sold all the material from Saudi Arabia which you sent to us. I have transferred the sum of 50,640 Kaldar gained from the sales to you. I hope that Your Excellency will not inform the military commander of this, since he instructed me not to sell weapons without his permission."

All these letters expose the hard truth and the real face of the criminal Afghan counterrevolution and its fundamental nature. These letters once again show who are running the war against the DRA and who are responsible for the calamities, suffering and bloodshed in our country. The women, children, and old men, the innocent people are murdered by weapons made in the United States and China and brought across our country's "border" by blackguards like the leaders of the reactionary Saudi Arabian regime. By means of these weapons the farms and fields are set on fire, buildings, roads and bridges are blown up, and the peace and security of the people are shattered.

These weapons will not determine Afghanistan's fate, the people's will determines it. The enemy should know this. The Sawr revolution is advancing, it is climbing new summits of victory, and no effort can break the will of our uprisen people.

Letter dated 10 October 1984

Your Excellency, ambassador of Saudi Arabia to Pakistan:

We thank you for your assistance to the holy jihad to establish an Islamic government in Afghanistan. It is necessary for me to tell you that the combat forces of 'Abdulrasul Sayyaf in the Jaji Meidan region and the Khust Wolesswali have turned to flight from our enemies, the reason being the scarcity of heavy weapons, although our forces were strong prior to this.

We ask you to give us assistance in the heavy weapons area so that we can succeed in this great and important matter. The Jaji Meidan region is a strategically important one, and after capturing it we can put our military plans into effect.

Signed Anjir Hekmatyar, commander of the Afghan Islamic Party (Hezb-e Islamiye Afghanistan).

Letter dated 4 October 1984:

Saudi Arabian Embassy in Pakistan:

We have received your aid, which included material. The Islamic Union of Afghan Mojahedin thank your country for its aid and assistance. Unfortunately it must be said that our guerrillas do not understand its use. We ask you to send us one of your advisors who understands the abovementioned to help our mojahedin in using it.

Signed Mulavi Mohammad Nabi-Mohammadi, commander of the Afghan Islamic Revolution Movement (Harekat-e Enqelab-e Islami-ye Afghanistan).

Letter:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Brother Mojahed, Professor 'Abdulrasul Sayyaf, head of the Islamic Union of Afghan Mojahedin:

All the brothers send praise and greetings to you from the trenches of the jihad against the Russian occupying forces and Babrak's soldiers, and ask God for your success in your duties in the pure path of Islam.

Honorable Professor: All that Saudi Arabian material which you sent to us we sold in the tribal regions, and I have transferred the sum of 50,640 Kaldar from the sale to you. I hope that Your Honor will not inform the military commander of this since he instructed me not to sell weapons without his permission.

With wishes for your success, we await Your Honor's instructions. Rest assured that any of Your Honor's instructions will be put into effect by me in the utmost confidence. From God, success.

Letter No 4, dated 20 September 1984:

His Excellency the Saudi Arabian Ambassador:

We have written to your office about the righteous activities of our brothers. Recently however, our weapons cache in the (Teri Mangal) area was blown up by a number of persons aiding our enemies. Thus our forces are suffering from a lack of weapons and ammunition. Thus our forces do not have the ability to do battle with the enemy. We ask you to inform your government of this matter so that it can eliminate our problem in this regard. We thank you for your assistance.

Signed Sobghatullah Mohaddadi, head of the Islamic Union of Afghan Mohahedin (Ettehad-e Eslami-ye Mojahedin-ye Afghanistan).

Letter, undated:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Brother Mojahed Hekmatyar, commander of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, greetings:

All the brothers in the trenches of the jihad against the idolatrist power of the Russians and Babrak's government forces are victoriously resisting. I must remind you that we have received the Saudi Arabian medicine which you had sent us. However, I must regretfully say that the Saudi Arabian doctor who was living in the guest house drank the cup of martyrdom in the Teri Mangal explosion. We now need a doctor familiar with these medicines. I hope that you can

cooperate with us in sending a doctor as quickly as possible because our mojahed brothers are in very sorry state after the recent operations carried out by the Russians and the Kabul government and all the brothers are complaining about it.

Hoping for your happiness and victory in Islam's path against the selfish athiests, we await your further orders. Success from God.

Letter, undated:

Your Excellency the Saudi Arabian ambassador to Pakistan:

We thank your Saudi brothers since they have unsparingly given us good help in the defense of Islam. However, your advisor agrees with the view of our mojahed brother Yunes Khaless; we want to send the greater part of the weapons and ammunition to the Nangarhar Province, while they really belong to Hadran Wolesswally. In any case, we expect Your Excellency was informed of this matter, and God willing, we will succeed in implementing our plan.

Thanks, Mevlana Jallaluddin "Haqqani."

Letter dated 22 September 1984:

Your Excellency 'Z. bin Faruq of Saudi Arabia:

According to the order you gave us, we obtained information from our delegation in Iran and delivered it to your ambassador in Pakistan.

We hope that this intelligence has reached you, and also hope that it will give you cause for satisfaction.

Respectfully, Professor Borhanuddin Rabbani, Jam'iat-e Islami-ye Afghanistan.

Letter dated 17 September 1984:

Your Excellency, the Saudi Arabian ambassador to Pakistan:

From the first opportunity I had after I was appointed an official of the Islamic Union of Afghan Mojahedin, I have strived to strengthen Islamic unity and the useful unity of all our forces to unify the goals of the jihad against blasphemy and atheism. Regretfully it must be said that elements who cannot control themselves, such as Golbedin Hekmatyar and those not believing in unity of action or its basis, want to shatter our unity, harm the mojahedin, and annihilate our oppressed nation. They are preparing the ground in which our enemies can sow the seeds of discord. Again, Hekmatyar's forces in the Jaji Meidan region do not help our forces. Instead, his assistance is aimed at strengthening our enemies.

Thus I have written to tell you the reason for our lack of success and to inform you on our affairs.

Thanks, Professor 'Abdulrasul Sayyaf, head of the Islamic Union of Afghan Mojahedin (Ettehad-e Islami-ye Mojahedin-e Afghanistan).

AFGHANISTAN

SOVIET 'CHEMICAL ATTACK' ON AFGHAN CIVILIANS ELABORATED

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 27 Dec 84 p 10

[Text] Occupying Soviet forces and the army of Afghanistan have increased their operations against Muslim revolutionaries and civilians who do not cooperate with the puppet regime of Karmal Babrak. Chemical and biological weapons are widely used. According to investigations carried out by Afghan Muslim revolutionaries, there have been reports of casualties from 20 provinces. Specially this year more than 114 people have been killed and many wounded. On 1 October, 30 people were killed in the village of Kalakheyl which is located in the Belgeram area of Parwan Province. In early September, 13 Muslim Afghan revolutionaries became martyrs near the city of Ghazni. The most recent losses have been in the provinces of Konar, Balkh, Samangan and Badakhshan. In the area of Kham-i Zargar located in the Kuhestan sector, more than 200 persons are reported to have been killed after months of suffering the effects of chemical gases. Neutron gas which was used in World War I is also used extensively by the occupying Soviets against Muslims. The effects of this gas is similar to those of mustard gas in that the victims develop sores and vomiting within a short time. Death takes place within 2 or 3 weeks as a result of dehydration and infection. This dangerous gas was first used outside Ghowri. Other chemical weapon in the Soviet arsenal is a burning spray which severely burns the clothes and skin. This gas was used in an attack on the hiding place of Muslim revolutionaries in Zaranj, instantaneously affecting victims and tearing off their clothes.

In arid mountainous regions, Muslim Afghan revolutionaries have a natural advantage over their Russian enemies who, unable to keep fighting by classical military methods, resort to nerve gases such as (syn) and tabun.

The Soviets found helicopter gunships very useful in their use of chemical weapons they can blanket a vast area with this deadly weapon. These gases are highly toxic. Even a few micrograms inhaled can kill a person. Muslim revolutionaries who take refuge in caves are subjected to attacks with carbon monoxide, a colorless and odorless gas which enters the bloodstream and affected red globules, thereby preventing oxygen from taking their place. The victims of this war crime collapse and are martyred from suffocation. The CRESCENT INTERNATIONAL publication which has published this information adds: The Soviet forces which have taken a leaf out of the American Vietnam book are using defoliant powders and liquids against Muslim revolutionaries as well as

soldiers. Grass killer is used to prevent ground cover for Muslim Afghan refugees and to eliminate their existence and the existence of their supporters. As a result of the use of these toxic chemicals, not only are the environment, farming areas and the underbush polluted but the soil is also permanently damaged by antigreenery elements. The use of fungi and parasites extensively damage the soil, destroy harvests and poison greenery, this in turn causing sickness among livestock and other animals. Soviet forces and those of the Karmal regime are better equipped and adequately trained to keep their distance from the bad effects of chemical and biological warfare while the Muslim Afghan revolutionaries as well as the military who come under a wide range of Soviet chemical weapons have no way of preventing such acts.

The use of such deadly chemical weapons, just as the war imposed upon the Islamic fighters, gets little attention from the international news media. But the fighting nation of Afghanistan is pursuing the road to freedom and release from the dominance of the Eastern Superpower through Islamic jihad and give no heed to hostile propaganda of the Eastern arrogance and aggression nor to the arrogance of the plotting West and not entertain fear of chemical weapons because this is a war of honor and prestige for Islamic greatness and the reputation of the Islamic land of Afghanistan. Even as the enemies of Islam use what they hold or have in their arsenals in the foray, the Muslim and brave nation of Afghanistan are present in the field of challenge with whatever they have at their disposal, relying only on the unseen help of the Almighty and the eternal philosophy of martyrdom, thereby creating the biggest epic of resistance of the 20th century.

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CSO: 4640/235

AFGHANISTAN

GRAIN PRODUCTION REPORTEDLY INCREASING

Kabul HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR in Dari 19 Dec 84 p 2

[Text] The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the DRA government are giving their sustained attention to fundamentally solving the problem of agricultural development, to bringing about social transformations by carrying out land and water reforms, to the continued development of the cooperative movement, and to increasing production of principal crops to supply varied and sufficient food for the country's workers and the necessary amount of raw materials for the country's growing industries.

In an interview with the BAKHTAR NEWS AGENCY, 'Abdulghafar Lankanwal, minister of agriculture and land reform, stated the above, and said: During the first 6 months of the year, we have distributed to farmers and agricultural cooperatives 52,500 tons of chemical fertilizer costing 56 million afghans, agricultural chemical products, 5,000 tons of improved wheat seed, and more than 5,000 tons of improved seed cotton. In order to obtain good agricultural produce, this year the government has distributed a total of 112,000 tons of chemical fertilizer to farmers and agricultural cooperatives.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reform has earnestly adopted a policy in the area of supplying seed for various crops, and the ministry has readied 10,000 tons of improved seed.

Concerning the country's agricultural production during the current year, the minister of agriculture and land reform explained: Mechanized agricultural services, which play a major role in increasing agricultural production, are three times what they were in previous years and have increased 33 percent compared to last year. Right now in the provinces of Kabul, Balkh, Jowzjan, Herat and Baghlan we have actively operating mechanized agricultural stations equipped with modern implements, possessing several tractors in the villages.

Furthermore, four modern agricultural mechanical units have been founded in Samangan, Konduz, Ghazni and Farah Provinces. During the first 7 months of this year, we have distributed 68.7 million afghans in loans, 3,700 tons of chemical fertilizer, and 2,300 tons of various chemicals preventing blights and plant disease to the agricultural cooperatives in order to provide for spring planting.

We have assisted the cooperatives with 135 million afghans in loans, 7,900 tons of chemical fertilizer, and chemicals preventing plant and animal disease worth 60 million afghans in order to harvest the crops from 1363 (1984) and to carry out the June planting. The result of this assistance to the agricultural cooperatives during the current year was that not only were they able to supply their own needs, but they succeeded in exporting abroad their surplus in the following amounts: 2,350 tons of raisins, 4,750 tons of pomegranates, 5,000 tons of melons, 9,865 tons of grapes, 367 tons of almonds, 460 tons of wool, and 32,000 Karakul hides.

The speaker added: The Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reform and its local organs has made an all-out effort to realize the major goals of the party's and government's land policy by spreading effective technology for agriculture in order to increase efficiency, to increase agricultural produce that can be sold by farmers and cooperatives, and to raise the level of production of all kinds of agricultural produce.

Due to the increased volume of material and technical assistance to the country's agricultural cooperatives and farmers and the improvement of administration and organization in agriculture, the current year's agricultural production plan was carried out on the whole.

The orchards and public lands under cultivation increased 2,300 hectares compared to last year, and this year the total amount of land in orchards and under cultivation reached 3,729,300 hectares.

During the current year the total of cereals produced was 4,505,000 tons, and the country's production of raw cotton was estimated at 60,000 tons. A total of 932,000 tons of green vegetables including potatoes was produced, and 930,000 tons of fruit including grapes and citrus.

The minister of agriculture and land reform evaluated the province's agricultural production level, and said: Due to increased agricultural assistance by the government, harvests of wheat and cotton were greater than planned in the provinces of Konduz, Balkh, Helmand and Herat.

Concerning the state of the country's agricultural yield, 'Abdulghafar Lakanwal explained: From the figures we have obtained we can conclude that during the current year the country's agricultural yield was satisfactory and sufficiently bountiful to adequately supply the food needs of Afghanistan's hard-working people.

Right now the government is continuing to purchase surplus wheat and raw cotton from the farmers. So far 56,000 tons of wheat and 32,000 tons of cotton have been purchased from farmers and agricultural cooperatives. These figures show a doubling over last year's and indicate the abundance of grain in the country.

We are purchasing wheat domestically in order to stabilize the market price, and we can say with pride that due to the earnest policies of the party and the government and due to the increase in agricultural production, the price of wheat in most of the country's provinces has fallen compared to last year's.

Concerning the unalloyed help from friendly countries in exporting grains to the DRA, the minister of agriculture and land reform said: Although the country's domestic grains production completely meets the needs of our citizens, we annually bring in a certain amount of grain from friendly countries, particularly the fraternal USSR, in order to have sufficient grain reserves.

At the end of this interview the minister of agriculture and land reform said: Despite the undeclared war in the country and the sabotage by counterrevolutionary elements affiliated with imperialism and regional reaction which has created obstacles to the growth and development of agriculture, we have attained successes and great achievements in the agricultural sector. Although a number of provinces experienced a grain shortage this year and other provinces aided them, they became self-sufficient from the wheat standpoint, and here we can mention the provinces of Badakhshan and Farah. During the current year, the province of Badakhshan, in addition to producing enough wheat to meet the needs of its people, had a surplus of 400 tons of wheat which the government purchased from its farmers at a suitable price.

9597

CSO: 4665/7

AFGHANISTAN

## HIGHER EDUCATION AVAILABLE TO ALL

Kabul HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR in Dari 16 Dec 84 p 4

[Text] Yesterday at Kabul University the entrance examinations for the country's universities and institutions of higher learning were given. Taking yesterday's examination were 3,100 students from the fields of science and social studies. Of this number, 2,290 students completed the science examination, and 810 took the social studies exam.

Included for the first time in the group of students taking the entrance exam this year are graduates of the new educational system, meaning those who have completed 10th grade. These students graduated from the experimental 'Etebar Khan School.

The chief of instruction of the ministry of higher education said: "The entrance examination was given in two sessions on the Kabul University campus. Different questions were prepared for regular high school graduates and for graduates of the new system, and evaluation will be done of their basis. The difference between this year's exam and those in former years was that as the exams approached university professors gave the necessary guidance to high school students concerning what the exam would be like and how to choose colleges.

"Furthermore, groups of test administrators have been sent to the provinces to give the examination, and in the near future entrance examinations will be given for those who graduated from vocational and academic high schools in previous years."

When the examination was over and the youths were leaving the university yard with the smiles of success on their faces, we spoke with three 12th grade graduates. Hosseyn 'Ali, a 12th grade graduate of Habibiyeh High School, said: I graduated in the social studies field from Habibiyeh High School this year. I completed the entrance examination with a calm mind, since the exam was held in a very good atmosphere. I have chosen the field of law, and I expect to succeed in this very college. Anita, a 12th grade graduate in science from 'Aisheh Darani High School, said: My goal in getting higher education at Kabul University or other institution of higher learning is to better serve the people, because our country has a greater need for young cadres, particularly for women who have had higher education. I am interested in studying in the technical field or engineering.

Shakila Skandari, a 12th grade graduate in the social studies field from Rabe'ah Balkhi High School, said: Young people must get higher education in the fields that today's society has need of. In our country today, following the victory of the Sawr revolution, the doors of the institutions of higher education are open to the children of all our hard-working citizens without prejudice or bigotry.

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CSO: 4665/7

IRAN

IRAN DEMANDS 'UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF OCCUPYING FORCES'

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 27 Dec 84 p 3

[Text] In a statement issued yesterday to mark the 27 December occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet forces, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs pointed out that the arrogant powers, whether Eastern or Western, have come to realize that they must pay a high price for infringing upon the bounds of Islam and stressed that as set forth several times previously Iran considers the only way to resolve the problem of Afghanistan is the unconditional pullout of occupying troops, the lack of replacement of such troops by those of another arrogant power, the return of the right to sovereignty to the people and the respectful return of all Afghan refugees to their country.

The text of the announcement put at the disposal of ETTELA'AT newspaper reads: In the name of God, the compassionate and the merciful. The 6 Dey 1358 [27 December 1979] is a reminder of the bitter aggression by Soviet forces against the Islamic country of Afghanistan.

On such a day 5 years ago, more than 100,000 armed Soviet troops were sent into Afghanistan to occupy it, this resulting in the martyrdom of 100,000 innocent people, the destruction of thousands of villages and the displacement of some 4 million human beings. Today, 5 years after the aggression, the Muslim people of Afghanistan more than ever feel the necessity of an all-out fight under the banner of Islam, more so since the lack of success of political solutions and international conferences have made it clear to all that to give up the fight will only be to the benefit of arrogant powers and will not end in the freedom of Afghanistan.

In any event, the arrogant powers, whether Eastern or Western, have come to realize they must pay a heavy price for aggression against the bounds of Islam. Just as the Muslims of Lebanon taught the American aggressors a good lesson, the Afghan mujahidin, giving up their lives, their homes and their families, have and are teaching the aggressors an unforgettable lesson.

As it has repeatedly announced, the Islamic Republic of Iran considers the only way to the solution of the problem of Afghanistan would be an unconditional withdrawal of aggressor forces without their replacement by forces of another arrogant power, giving the right of sovereignty to the people and the respectful return of all Afghan refugees to their country. It is hoped that the Muslim

and fighting people of Afghanistan stand united in word and vigilance before the intrigues of East and West and continue their basic struggle until final victory, and to have faith in the help of God for [according to the Koran] "O ye who believe, if you help Allah, he will help you and strengthen your foothold."

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

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CSO: 4640/236

IRAN

# ISRAEL SAID BLAMING IRAN FOR LEBANESE RESISTANCE

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 19 Dec 84 p 24

[Text] RADIO ISRAEL: The Iranians do not want peace and quiet to be established in southern Lebanon with Israeli soldiers there!

As the operations of Muslim revolutionaries in southern Lebanon have intensified and pressure is increasing on the Zionist regime's forces, RADIO ISRAEL has broken its silence. While expressing its worry over the situation of the Israeli forces in southern Lebanon, it announced: The tricks going on in southern Lebanon bring to mind the events in Iran 5 years ago.

According to a report by the CENTRAL NEWS UNIT, the Zionist regime's radio in a commentary on Tuesday demonstrated the anger of the Zionists controlling occupied Palestine, saying: While Israel is hopeful about negotiations with the Lebanese government, and each day sees hope in these negotiations, the Islamic Republic of Iran has started up slaughter in the cities and villages of southern Lebanon with its support for Lebanon's Muslims! What Israel means by slaughter is the armed resistance of the Muslim people of southern Lebanon.

RADIO ISRAEL, continuing its report, added: The mosques have been transformed into scenes for extremist propaganda and the brainwashing of southern Lebanon's citizens and are the origin of the plot unfolding against the Israeli forces. (The Iranians) do not want a peace and quiet (of the graveyard) to be established in southern Lebanon with Israeli soldiers there. RADIO ISRAEL added: Fires are being kindled from the city of Ba'lbak, under the control of the Hezbollah, to Tripoli, Beirut and the south of Lebanon. The radio, pointing out that the villages in southern Lebanon have been transformed into centers of "terrorist" activities, adds: Those who imagine that they can speed the exit of Israeli forces by sending women and children into the field are making a big mistake.

In conclusion RADIO ISRAEL attacked those persons encouraging terrorism against Israeli soldiers.

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IRAN

BRIEFS

SHAHID SALIMI POWER PLANT--Sari--By the end of the year electricity produced by the Shahid Salimi Power Plant in Neka' will increase to 7.5 billion kilowatt-hours. This level is 70 million kilowatt-hours more than was produced last year by the power plant. In an interview Eng Soleymani, managing director of the Neka' Shahid Salimi Power Plant, stated the facts above and pointed out that the Neka' power plant is the largest steam-powered one producing electricity, and said: The electricity produced by this power plant is transferred to the network by three 400-kilovolt power lines, and connected to the national network by one 230-kilovolt line. This line supplies electricity directly to Mazandaran Province. In regards to the reasons for the nationwide blackouts last year, he stated: They were due to a violent ocean storm which damaged the filters of the power plants water-cooling system and inadequate design as far as dealing with probable atmospheric conditions. Fortunately, improvements in the filters of the water-cooling system and dredging of the system's canals were carried out which should prevent such accidents in the future. [Text] [Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 19 Dec 84 p 2] 9597

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END